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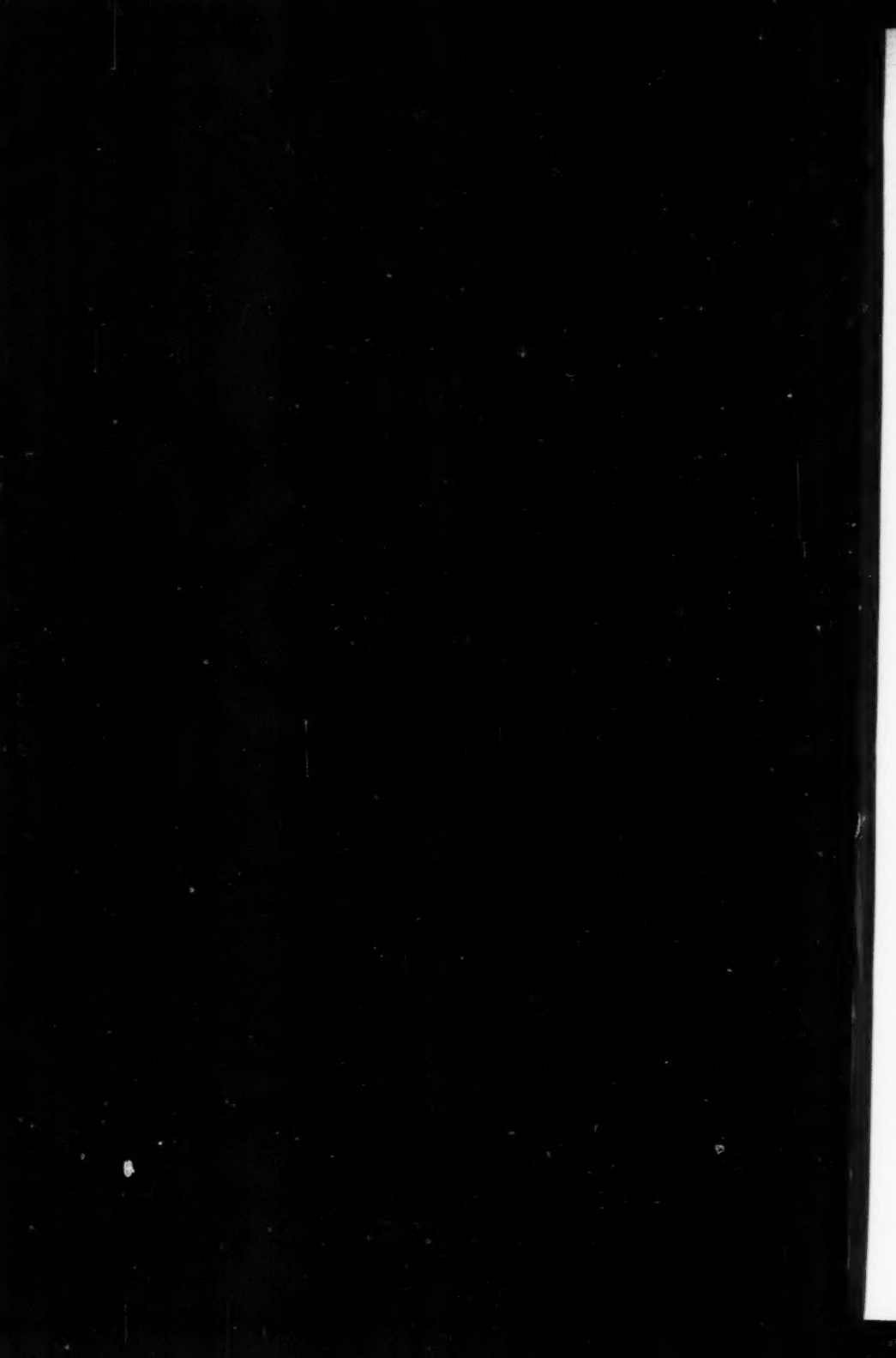
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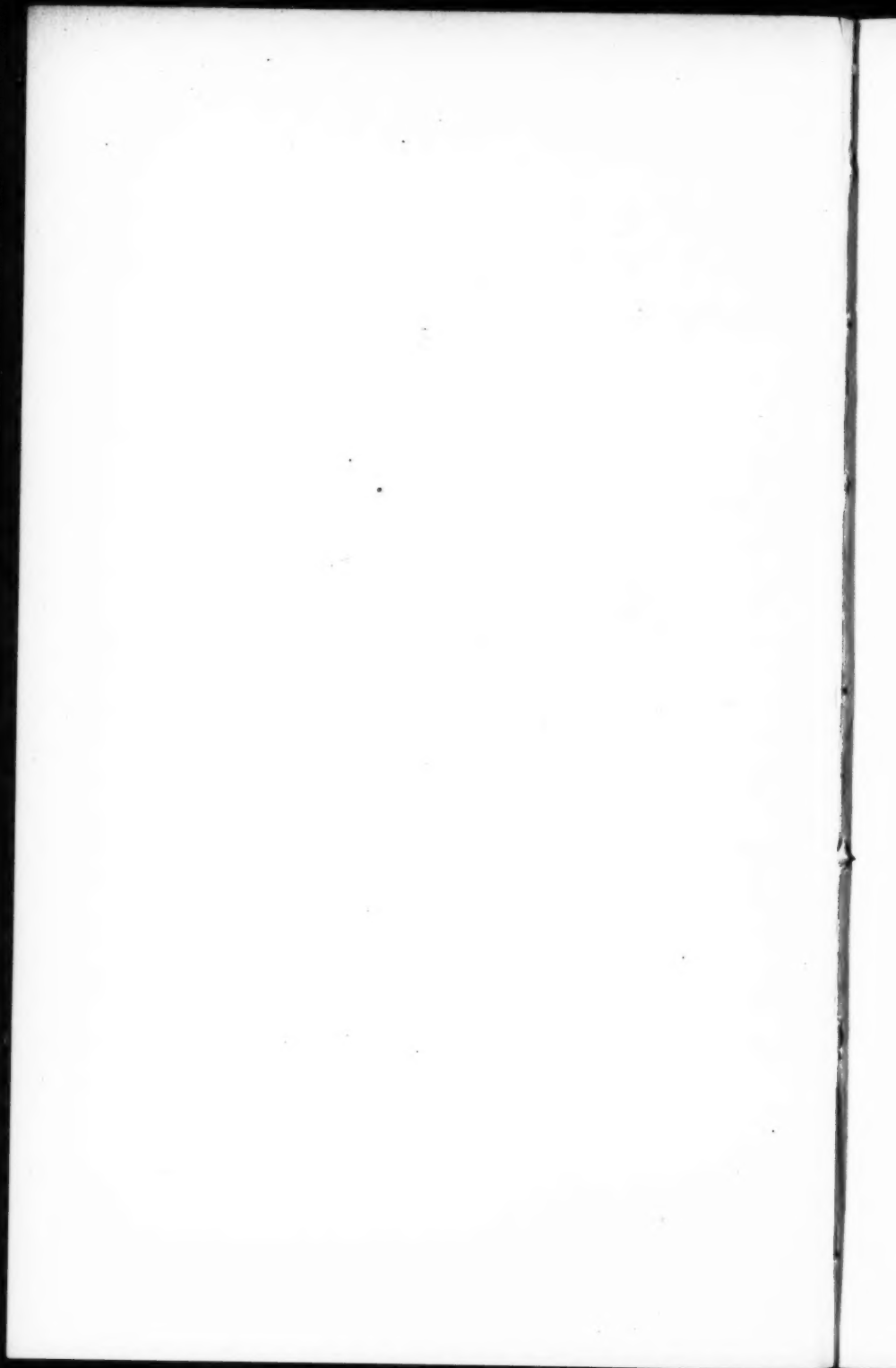
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1894.

ART. I.—WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.

William George Ward and the Oxford Movement. By WILFRID WARD. With a portrait engraved from a miniature by Miss EMILY COMBE. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

William George Ward and the Catholic Revival. By WILFRID WARD. With portrait from a bust by MARIO RAGGI. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

IT would, I believe, be impossible to fix upon any period in the English history of the present century which has been more written, spoken, and thought about than the twelve years which elapsed between 1833 and 1845. The first of these years witnessed Keble's Assize Sermon; the second saw the admission of Newman into the Fold of Christ; while the intervening period abounded in events which profoundly and permanently changed the face of the National Church. From the influence of these events it is not too much to say that no educated mind has been, for good or evil, wholly exempt. With that influence every writer on the history of theological and ecclesiastical thought has had, for the last half century, to reckon; while even the exponents of the most advanced latitudinarian school owe something of their vigour to the reaction against Church authority and the principle of dogma, which the Oxford Movement, in its ebb, inevitably produced in so many minds. That great movement, indeed, was set for the

[No. 11 of Fourth Series.]

"fall and rising of many." It broke for ever the sleep, which had nearly sunk into the death, of Protestant Christianity in the eighteenth and the beginning of the present century. It brought to an age which had scarcely ceased to regard religious earnestness as synonymous with dissent, the desire to restore the Catholic elements which distinguished the age of Laud. In its later development, and as the logical outcome of its earlier stage, it held up before the people of England the beauty of the Catholic Church as it had existed before the revolt of the sixteenth century; and for the chosen few it remained to realise that the flowers and fruit for which they yearned so greatly, and whose loss they so profoundly deplored, could never grow upon a severed branch, and could only be gathered from the parent stem of the one Catholic and Roman Church.

As Newman, Froude, Pusey, and Keble will ever be regarded as the authors of the first and historical phase of the Oxford Movement, so must the subject of these volumes be recognised as the potent factor in its second, and final stage. Ward found the movement Anglican—he left it Roman. It was through him, in great measure, that it changed its skin; and the lifeless coil which it then cast aside has since served as the covering in which the High Church party has masqueraded as Catholic.

Of the earlier part of the Oxford Movement and of his own great share in it, Cardinal Newman has long since given us the history in a volume which will hold its place in the literature of England for all time, though he has, with characteristic generosity, spared from a concurrent and unenviable immortality the reckless accuser to whom the volume was originally due. (And after all one may value a diamond pin without caring to preserve the beetle which it has transfixed.)

But until the appearance of these volumes, no adequate memorial had, so far as we know, been published, detailing the later developments of Tractarianism, and of the subsequent career of William George Ward, to whom so large a share in those developments must be ascribed.

The two books which we have named at the head of this article not only supply this want, but supply it most abundantly. Their author had of course a tale of surpassing

interest to unfold, a tale in every sense congenial to his pen, and one with which, from close intercourse with his illustrious father, he had become thoroughly familiar. But even this will not fully account for the admirable manner in which he has achieved his work. To our minds Mr. Wilfrid Ward has shown that he possesses that unmistakable note of genius which enables a writer to live in the places and times of which he writes, and, what is still more rare, to take his readers along with him. It is only fair to add that his style is vigorous, terse and limpid, so that one need never look back to ascertain the full bearing of any sentence, which is surely no slight achievement, especially where, as in the second of these volumes, questions of philosophy and metaphysics are being discussed.

Neither have we here a mere panegyric of a father by his son. Without in any case overstepping the line of filial respect, our author has drawn a living portrait of William George Ward, as so many of us remember him; with his faith, his strong manly piety, his impetuous loyalty, his humility, which sometimes amounted, in describing his own foibles, to brutal candour, his delightfully unabashed, but severely critical, avowal of his intellectual powers, his love of fun, and playful paradox; in a word, his altogether unique personality, mental and physical. And in no *Review* can a more cordial and appropriate welcome be given to such a picture than in the DUBLIN, with which the name of Ward was for so many years intimately associated as proprietor and editor.

In a word, these volumes appear to us the models of what a biography should be; while the first of them, in its masterly presentment of the University as it was half a century ago, forms a true *locus classicus* for the history of the Oxford Movement.

William George Ward was born on March 21, 1812. The earliest records of him which are extant tell us that, even as a boy, he showed a remarkable talent for mathematics as well as the passionate love of all things dramatic and musical, which distinguished him in after life. His mathematical powers recall the *génie affreux* of Pascal, for we are told that at the age of nine, Ward "found out the principle of logarithms, and . . . applied it for himself with considerable skill." Other

characteristics which belonged to him as a man, also appeared thus early; for instance, his intense hatred for what is known as "general society"—causing him, when asked by his hostess how he was enjoying a children's party to which he had been forced to go, to reply, with more truth than politeness, "I expected to find it a bore, but now that I am here I find it even worse than I had thought." So terrible, indeed, did the boredom become, that the poor boy literally bolted, getting home as best he could through mud, rain and darkness, at the cost of a pair of evening shoes.

At eleven years of age he was sent to Winchester, at which so many of the future converts received their education, though his only schoolfellow of note who afterwards became a Catholic seems to have been the late Lord Emly. Other distinguished Wykehamites who were at school with Ward were the future Lords Sherbrooke and Selborne, and Anthony Trollope.

It does not in the least surprise us to hear that his school-days were not happy. It is questionable whether a genius was ever happy amongst a multitude of boys, the vast majority of whom must of course be of a common-place, conventional type, whose ideal of greatness consists in the possession of *thew* and *sinew*. Ward seems, however, to have been well liked by his companions, the result, no doubt in part, of his imperturbable good humour, to which Lord Selborne bears witness in a few memories which he has supplied for this biography. An instance at once of his mathematical acumen and of that intense "cocksureness" which characterised him all through life, will raise a smile on those who knew him in later days:

"I don't know why it is," he said on one occasion to his mathematical tutor, who found fault with his answer to some problem, "but when I see that my answer to a sum is right, I don't care if all the world says it's wrong. I *know* it's right."—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 7.

He was less successful as a versifier, though he was called upon when at Winchester to practise the art. But two of the specimens preserved in this book are worth quoting. A poem on "The Spanish Captives Sacrificed to the Mexican God of War," begins thus:

Far from a *merry key* I now must sing,
Though to *America* my muse takes wing.

And in describing the "Mariner's Compass," he found that the minimum number of lines (which he never exceeded) were almost written without any description having been given of the "useful instrument," a deficiency which he tersely and wittily supplied thus :

The various points and quarters of the sky

Are painted on a card beneath a hole.

Atop's a magnet pointing to the pole.

"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," pp. 9, 10.

Even in his early boyhood the moods of intense melancholy which afflicted him in later years visited him frequently, forming, as he himself expressed it, "the background of his life"; while he was also tortured by constant headaches. We read of his confiding to his sister, as a child, "that he thought life altogether so melancholy that he wished to be out of it," (p. 18). The present writer well remembers a description which Ward gave, at a dinner-party in his own house, of one of these fits of depression. "A poor dog had to be shot that day, and as I watched the men from my window preparing for the execution, I was inclined to envy the dog!" And then—a playful gleam, suddenly and unexpectedly lighting up his face—he added: "How can life be even tolerable when one is liable to meet a fellow like K.?" turning to a guest who sat near him, and who was quite unprepared for the onslaught. There were two things which gave him relief from his melancholy—religion and music. While still at Winchester he showed signs of the deep religious nature which prompted him to live entirely for God. A governess who was engaged to teach his sisters, though she seems in other respects to have been dull and commonplace, so attracted him by her strong evangelical piety, that his mother used to say that he was in love with her. He possessed an abiding sense of the seriousness of life, and of the paramount importance of religion which was in a schoolboy almost phenomenal; while his horror of anything like immorality was equally strong.

Of his love of music we shall have occasion to speak later on. It was far more for him than a mere pleasure or recreation. The refreshment and relief which it brought were so immense to one whose "ill-health . . . prevented his ever

enjoying a day of real comfort," that it is permissible to doubt whether, without its aid, he could have carried the burden of his laborious life.

In October 1830 Ward went up to Christ Church. The change from school to college was a great joy to him, and he seems to have thrown himself with zest into the debates at the Union, of which society he was later the president. Indeed, in his early University career, politics seem to have been his great interest, as was not unnatural, seeing that so many of his fellow-students from Winchester were looking forward to a Parliamentary life. "The walking incarnation of the Union," as Cardwell called Ward, rapidly made his name as a speaker, fluent, clear, and earnest, giving the impression of being "thoroughly convinced that he was right."

In 1833 he stood for a scholarship at Lincoln, for which he was unanimously elected. But though, to a man of his singular abilities, a double first was within reach, Ward could not be induced to work at anything which was "out of his line," and on the eve of the examination was found reading one of Miss Austen's novels instead of some specially important formulæ in mechanics. In the interval between his classical and mathematical examinations he was elected to an open Fellowship at Balliol. An incident in his classical examination is so eminently characteristic of the man that we shall be pardoned for quoting it at length.

One of Cicero's letters to his brother Quintus is chosen, and the examiner tells Ward to turn to a particular part. Ward reads it admirably, his voice being excellent, his intonation and inflections faultless, and his sense of the meaning and spirit of the passage leaving nothing to be desired. Attention is aroused. The audience—consisting of a large number of undergraduates and a good sprinkling of dons—is on the *qui vive*. Here is a first-rate man evidently. The construing comes next, which, if not quite so exceptionally good as the reading, still quite bears out the expectation of a display of first-class ability. The examiner, in obvious good humour, says at the end, "Very well, Mr. Ward, and now let me ask you, What are the principal letters which we have now extant of Cicero? To whom were they written?"

Ward (without the slightest hesitation): "I really don't know." The examiner (surprised, and after a short pause): "The letter from which you have just construed a passage was written on the eve of a very eventful time; can you tell me something of the events which followed immediately afterwards?" Ward: "I know nothing whatever about

them." This was said with perfect gravity, and in a tone of philosophic resignation. "Take your time, Mr. Ward," says the examiner; "you are nervous." "No, sir," replies Ward, "it's not nervousness; pure ignorance." The examiner made another attempt. "In what year was it written?" Ward (with energy): "I haven't the slightest idea." (Father Faber used to say that as the examination proceeded he began to give his answers in a tone of resentment, as though the questions were impertinent ones.)—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 27.

The celebrated Dr. Jenkyns remarked upon the wonderful straightforwardness of the candidate in a malaprop which has become historical, "there is a candid *ingenuity* about the fellow which pleases me." Long afterwards, when Ward had resigned his two Balliol lectureships on account of his defence of Tract 90, Dr. Jenkyns, the Master of the College, though admiring Ward's conduct, was not so much "pleased with the fellow's" outspoken writings as he had been with his former "*ingenuity* in speech." He even

shed tears at the final interview, and is very much disturbed about it. It is said that he is overheard grumbling to himself, "I wish Mrs Jenkyns would take care of the flowers instead of the cabbages" and then in the next breath, "I wish Mr. Ward would not write such pamphlets."—"Life and Letters of A. P. Stanley," vol. i. p. 297.

However, these early days of his Oxford life contained nothing to make people suspect that he would ever become a disciple of Newman. It was in 1834, and in Faber's rooms, that he first saw his lifelong friend Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. It was probably Ward's intense admiration for Arnold that first attracted him to the future Dean of Westminster. Stanley thus describes his first sight of him:

There bounced in on Sunday a huge moon-faced man, Ward, once of Christ Church, now of Lincoln. . . . It seems that he idolises Whately, and Arnold almost, though not quite as much, purely from their books, without any knowledge of them. I have seen a good deal of him since. It would have done your heart good to have seen the unfeigned envy with which he regarded me as the depository of so much *νόμος ἀγαθός*; as having actually lived with the great man [Arnold].—"Life and Letters of A. P. Stanley," vol. i. pp. 130, 131.

The tone of mind indicated in this quotation lasted until 1838, in which year Ward began to yield himself entirely to the spell which Newman was destined, in spite of differences of opinion, to exercise over him for the remainder of his life.

It is a curious fact that Oriel was the birthplace of the two schools of thought which divided the Church of England—the school of Arnold and that of Newman and Pusey; for the great headmaster of Rugby did no doubt owe a great deal of the characteristics of his teaching to Oriel, and, in Oriel, to Whately and Bentham. But besides these there was in the same college, in Arnold's time, a greater man than either—John Keble, "the true and primary author," as Cardinal Newman calls him, of the Tractarian Movement.

The late Dean of St. Paul's held that it was owing to Keble's influence that Arnold escaped what has been called the Noetic tone which characterised Whately. And certainly Arnold's pupils, although destined to be poles asunder from Newman and the other Tractarians, managed to invest the Liberal party in Oxford "with an elevation of character which claimed the respect even of its opponents."

In a chapter of extreme ability and clearness Mr. Wilfrid Ward has described the intellectual and religious tone which possessed his father in his early Oxford days. The teachings of Bentham, Mill and Whately had aroused his keenest admiration, and it was probably to the influence of these men that he owed the clear, luminous and trenchant logic which in his Catholic days rendered him such a redoubtable champion of the Church against the positivist philosophy of the day. His very love for the exactitude of mathematics made him hate what was "misty," hazy and mysterious, and it was these very tendencies which at first repelled him in (what he thought to be) the teaching of the Tractarian leaders. Then the headlong robustness of Arnold, his undoubtedly genuine piety, the high standard of his aspirations, enchanted Ward and took him captive, as the coldness of the Whately school could never have done. The Tractarians, with their reverence for antiquity, and their sacerdotal principles, were directly opposed to Arnold and his anti-dogmatism; and so harmful did Ward consider the Tracts, that he and Tait had it at one time in mind to issue an antidote in the shape of publications of their own.

No one who has read Arnold's life will be at all surprised that the high standard of his ethics attracted Ward; his estimation of virtue as superior to intellect helped to represent

a reality which to Ward's mind was an engaging contrast to what he believed then to be the formalism of the Tractarian school. It was only when it became clear that Newman represented a still higher ethical idea that Ward became his disciple. On the eve of his withdrawal from Arnold's school he determined to seek at Rugby an interview with the great headmaster, and an amusing description is given by our author of this momentous conversation. It took place in the evening, when Arnold was jaded with the day's work. Ward had waited for his host since early in the day, and had refreshed alike his mind and body by reading novels on a sofa. The discussion which followed entirely failed to satisfy the visitor, who went away more burdened with sceptical difficulties than when he came; while Arnold was so thoroughly exhausted that he had to spend the following day in his bed!

It would perhaps be idle to speculate as to what would have been Ward's future career if at this moment he had not come across the commanding personality of John Henry Newman. But to show that, even after his breach with Arnoldism, he lent no willing ear at first to the leader who was so profoundly to influence his life, we have only to quote the words he used when asked to attend one of Newman's sermons in St. Mary's. "Why should I go and listen to such myths?" he said. How this position of his mind was brought to an abrupt end, may be told in the words of Professor Price which were written for this work:

Newman [he says], preached regularly on Sunday afternoons at five o'clock from St. Mary's pulpit. His sermons, as is well known, excited an interest as widely spread as it was keen amongst his audience—eager to hear more, sharply stirred up by the genius, the delicacy and subtlety of thought, the intense religious feeling, and above all by the flashes of unspeakable mystery which pervaded his utterances. The excitement they created scattered waves of feeling far beyond the precincts of the University. Ward was often pressed to go and hear them, but he impetuously refused. "Why should I go and listen to such myths?" What he heard of the nature and effects of these sermons revolted him. At last one of his friends laid a plot against him. He invited him to take a walk and brought him to the porch of St. Mary's Church precisely as the clock was striking five. "Now, Ward," said he, "Newman is at this moment going up into his pulpit. Why should you not enter and hear him once? It can do you no harm. If you don't like the preaching you need not go a second time, but do hear and judge what the thing is

like." By the will of God Ward was persuaded and he entered the church. . . . That sermon changed his whole life."

From that day it is not difficult to trace the process of intellectual and religious investigation which ultimately landed Ward in the Catholic Church. At first, of course, his difficulties remained, though he could not help acknowledging the personal charm of Newman himself. Many were the billows which had still to be encountered before the harbour was reached. But it is intensely interesting to the student of Ward's character to note how, when his intellect once became convinced, he not merely followed Newman, but in a certain sense, led him also. Or, if that be too much to say, he surely precipitated events by the *elan* of his impetuous nature and by his ruthless logic, as the French by the premature firing of their outposts brought about the battle of Woerth.

For Ward no such thing as the *Via Media* was possible, except indeed as a step to something else. To his mind the Reformers, if they could not be justified must be unequivocally condemned. This condemnation was pronounced indeed by two of the Tractarian leaders in 1838, on the publication of "Froude's Remains," a book in which, says the late Lord Blachford, Ward found "a good deal of his own Radicalism (though nothing at all of his own Utilitarianism or Liberalism) and it seemed *literally* to make him jump for joy." In it Ward found a rule of faith, the hope of an authority which should free him from those dark, perplexing and semi-sceptical speculations which had been harassing his mind hitherto.

Froude's writing recommended itself to Mr. Ward as having the attribute of Lord Strafford's Irish policy. It was thorough. And in opposition to this Arnold's system stopped short at every turn. Froude's picture of the mediæval Church was that of an absolute, independent spiritual authority, direct, uncompromising, explicit in its decrees, in contrast with the uncertain voice of the English Church with its hundred shades of opinions differing from and even opposed to each other. Instead of groping with the feeble light of human reason amid texts of uncertain signification, he interpreted Scripture by the aid of constant tradition, and of the Church's divine illumination.—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 85.

And yet the man whose "Remains" these were, died a protestant! Who can doubt that, had he lived to be even a middle-aged man, he would have submitted to the Church

which he so much revered? The wonder is how it was that, believing and seeing as he did, he failed to discern that the Church of England could be no part of this true Kingdom of Heaven, that its very Erastianism, which is not accidental but essential to its existence, precluded the possibility of its being part of the Church founded by Jesus Christ as a Kingdom apart from all other kingdoms. For what was Froude's view but the expression, in other words, of the sentence which, according to Cardinal Newman, "absolutely pulverized" the *Via Media*, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum!*"

But so it was—and, wonderful as it may seem to those who have spent their lives in the Catholic Church, Froude and others failed to see that a condition of communion with that Church was submission to her visible head. It was years before either Newman or Ward saw that the rags and tatters of Catholicism which existed in the Church of England could not make it a part of the Church Catholic. It was these very fragments of the old Catholic tradition which for some time kept Ward from Rome. While the enemies of Tractarianism hated the system because they believed it would lead men to "Popery," it was all the time hindering at least one man from entering the Church. Much as he longed for Rome, wistfully as he gazed upon her matchless unity, her transcendent doctrinal sanctity, her calm and majestic dominion, he felt it a duty to remain an Anglican until he could convince himself that the Church of England formed no part of the true Church. Hear what he says as early as the year 1841—four years before his conversion—"Restoration of active communion with the Roman Church is the most enchanting earthly prospect on which my imagination can dwell." This, of course, means a corporate and not an individual "restoration of union," but it proves abundantly that Ward was held back from the step he afterwards took by the belief that Anglicanism was a branch of the Church (though in these days he did also believe that things inside the Church must be modified before a "re-union" could take place). And the tracts were the chief factors in preserving this view. That the Tractarian Movement, by re-instilling Catholicism into the Anglican Church, would result in the ultimate union of that Church with Rome, he did not doubt. But he considered it wrong "by any hasty

step on the part of individuals to frustrate so glorious a prospect" (p. 150).

All depended, therefore, upon the power of the new school to restore Catholicism to the Anglican Church. But the question was how far the receptivity of the Anglican Church would go. If it were really part of the kingdom founded by Christ, it would surely imbibe and incorporate doctrine after doctrine and custom after custom which assimilated it to the Primitive Church. If, on the other hand, it was essentially Protestant, it would shrink from anything Catholic as the evil spirits shrank before the visible presence of Our Lord. The Tractarians were loading the Church of England with Catholic doctrine. If she were true sterling metal she would stand the charge. If she were, on the other hand, ill-cast, ill-founded and rotten, she would burst asunder.

The question of the Articles was one which necessarily presented itself to everyone seeking orders. In what sense were they to be subscribed? In Ward's view, they had not necessarily been drawn up to condemn authoritative Catholic teachings, and most assuredly not to condemn the Tridentine Decrees, seeing that they were anterior to the Council of Trent. Were they not rather aimed at popular corruptions? Ward held that they might have been so aimed. Cardinal Newman has told Mr. Wilfrid Ward that in the latter part of the year 1840, Ward was "almost daily in his rooms at Oriel, discussing the prospects and programme of the movement. Newman appears to have seen that with Ward and with others it was gradually becoming a choice between explicit recognition" of an elastic view of the Articles, and actual submission to Rome. And according to our author, it was this state of things which led to the publication of *Tract 90*.

The storm which arose over this pamphlet is remembered of course to this day. Cardinal Newman had not anticipated that its appearance would create any great stir, but Ward and others more correctly gauged the feeling of the University, and, according to Oakeley, it had not been published many days before Oxford was "in a fever of excitement. It was bought with such avidity that the very presses were taxed almost beyond their powers to meet the exigencies of the demand. Edition followed edition by days rather than by weeks; and it

was not very long before Mr. Newman, as I have heard, realised money enough, by the sale of this shilling pamphlet, to purchase a valuable library."

Mr. James Mozley, writing to his sister immediately after the publication of the tract, says :

It is on the Articles, and shows that they bear a highly Catholic meaning ; and that many doctrines of which the Romanist are corruptions, may be held consistently with them. This is no more than what we know as a matter of history, for the Articles were expressly worded to bring in Roman Catholics. But people are astonished and confused at the idea now, as if it were quite new.

This storm of course brought Ward into the field, not only to defend his revered leader from the charge of disingenuousness, but to bring into clearer relief the line of the argument. Two pamphlets from his pen—"A Few Words," and "A Few Words more—in Defence of Tract 90"—appeared in rapid succession. Their tendency was not likely to make his position as Lecturer at Balliol a more comfortable one, and Tait and others among the Fellows pressed upon the Master that their author was not a suitable teacher for young men. We have already seen how the amiable gentleman, Dr. Jenkyns, on this occasion mixed up complaints about his garden with those connected with Ward's views. As in duty bound, he now tried to master the contents of the pamphlets, and was found one day fast asleep in his arm-chair with one of them, a closely printed book of ninety pages, on his knee. But passages were brought to his notice which impelled him to the disagreeable task of calling upon their author to resign his lectureship. Yet it went sadly against the grain. "Really Tait," he said, "when I meet Ward and talk to him, I find him so amusing and so agreeable, that it is almost impossible to believe that he is the same man who says those *dreadful* things in print." Still his conscience would not allow him to let things remain as they were. "What *heresy* may he not insinuate under the form of a syllogism !" And the Doctor was on the point of acting, when Ward himself came to his relief. He had heard of the Master's wishes, and understood that he was bound to take steps against him. He therefore resigned the lectureship. "Really, Ward," said Jenkyns, with an outburst of gratitude, "this is just like your generosity."

No wonder that Ward's friends were alarmed. Already they feared that the step which he took four years later was imminent, and Dr. Pusey, through Oakeley, asked for a distinct pledge that he would not join the Roman Church, a pledge which Ward declined to give, though he added that secession was far from his thoughts.

The rift between the old Tractarian party and the new, became wider and more unmistakable. In the correspondence which ensued between Ward and Pusey, the former claimed that his opinions had the sanction of Newman. Whether this was accurate or not, we may gather from the "Apologia" that its author had a suspicion that the party represented by Ward might be right after all. And to bring matters to a head, Ward expressed his willingness to abandon any opinion if it could be shown that Newman disapproved of it.

With regard [he writes to Pusey] to Newman's sanction of "A Few Words more in Defence of Tract 90" he told me that he did not know a single sentiment expressed in it in which he did not altogether concur. He said that I had my way of saying things and he his, and that his was a very different way from mine; but this is connected with the manner, not matter.—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 176.

Tract 90 had indeed brought about a change in the movement which was permanent. Before its appearance, Mr. Anthony Froude tells us that

Rome was never spoken of as the probable goal of any but a few foolish young men, whose presence would be injurious to any cause, and who were therefore better in the enemy's camp than at home, and no worldly interests had yet been threatened with damage, except perhaps the Friday dinner and the Lent second course.*

But now all this was changed.

An informal inquisition was established, and clerical and academical preferment became dependent on a disavowal of the opinions expressed in the tracts. It became necessary to surrender tutorships, fellowships, and the hopes of them; to find difficulties in getting ordained, to lose slowly the prospects of pleasant curacies and livings, and parsonage houses, and the sweet little visions of home paradises, a serious thing to young High Churchmen, who were commonly of the amiable enthusiastic sort, and so, of course, had fallen, most of them, into early engagements and from this time the leader's followers began to lag behind.—"Text and Quotation," pp. 185, 186.

* Quoted on p. 185 of "W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement."

As I have tried to explain above, the tract had been designed to prove that Ward, and those who shared his views, could still remain in the Church of England. If the tract were so accepted by that community, there would be no reason for these men to leave it; indeed their duty, as they then saw it, would be to remain where they were. But the rejection of the tract was not merely, by God's grace, the means of leading many into the Catholic Church, but it also set on foot a sort of test, informal and unofficial, but at the same time efficacious, in the way of those who desired a clerical career.

Meanwhile matters advanced to what an outsider might have seen was their inevitable conclusion. A long series of articles by Ward in the *British Critic* must have partly prepared men's minds for the culminating point in his Anglican writings, the appearance of the "Ideal," a title which, partly from the momentous events which followed its publication, and partly as suggesting a playful contrast to the author's figure, clung to him as a friendly *soubriquet* through life.

The book was a reply to a publication by Mr. William Palmer (of Worcester) called "Narrative of Events connected with the Tracts for the Times." Mr. Palmer was so much horrified by Ward's writings in the *British Critic*, in which, "by Newman's principle this audacious intellect [Ward] was set free to deal with religion according to the bent of his genius," that he called upon Newman, represented to him the offence which the articles had caused, and begged him to exert his influence as editor to suppress any future teaching of a similar kind. But Newman explained that he was no longer editor,

that the heads of the Church had thought fit to condemn him and to destroy his usefulness; that they had silenced him, and that they would now have to deal with younger men, whom it was not in his power to restrain; that they would in future have to deal with a different class of men. He finally declared his resolution not to interfere.—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," pp. 243, 244.

The failure of this interview caused Mr. Palmer to write the book which we have mentioned above. In it he reviews the progress of religious thought and of the Oxford Movement, of course from his own point of view, which was vehemently opposed to the later developments of that great crisis. It was

this pamphlet which was the occasion, if not exactly the cause, of Ward's famous book—"The Ideal of a Christian Church." Indeed, the title-page of this work announced that it contained "a defence of certain articles in the *British Critic* in reply to remarks on them in Mr. Palmer's 'Narrative.'" The "Ideal" was evidently intended to be, what it in fact became, the touchstone of Ward's ecclesiastical position. Replying to a remark of F. Whitty, who had expressed surprise at his remaining in the Protestant Church when he was really a Catholic in all but the name, Ward said: "You Catholics know what it is to have a Pope. Well, Newman is my Pope. Without his sanction I cannot move." But he admitted the anomalousness of his position, though he defended it logically.

We have seen [writes Mr. Wilfrid Ward] that it depended on the lawfulness of holding all Roman doctrine while still an Anglican. Still this theory might be at any moment condemned by the English authorities and so become no longer tenable; and he allowed the desirableness of having a pronouncement from them one way or the other (p. 240).

I give this sentence as it stands, partly because it is beyond my intelligence to grasp its meaning. To my mind it involves a contradiction in terms. To be an Anglican and "to hold all Roman doctrine" at one and the same time, is no more possible than it would be to be simultaneously in Terra del Fuego and in Rome. To be an Anglican is to be cut off from visible communion with the Church. The Church teaches that it is necessary (except in cases of invincible ignorance) for every one to be within her visible communion. To be outside is to be cut off from the ordained channels of grace. If this be a doctrine of the Church, no one could believe "all Roman doctrine," and at the same time deny it; and its acceptance would of course preclude him *ipso facto* from remaining an Anglican. Compared with this view, the question whether the "English authorities" would or would not "condemn" a position so fraught with contradiction, sinks into utter insignificance. However, the touchstone was near at hand in the shape of a pamphlet, "fast becoming a fat book."

This was the "Ideal of a Christian Church," and it was written, as Ward avowed, in the hope of bringing matters to an issue. And to an issue, as all the world knows, it speedily brought them.

I do not propose to follow our author in the elaborate analysis which he has most rightly inserted of his father's book. We prefer to hasten on to the events which succeeded its publication. And first—as the oysters before the dinner—let us see what effect it had upon our old friend Dr. Jenkyns:

It is said that he was found pacing up and down his room with the book in his hand, shortly after its appearance, quoting in accents of astonishment and horror some of its strong expressions. "We are a corrupted Church!" "We are in a degraded condition!" "We are to mourn our corruptions in penitential abasement!" "We are to sue for pardon at the feet of Rome humbly"; and then the word *humbly* he repeated, in a yet deeper tone of horror. Mr. Ward was once more summoned into the Master's presence. His tutorship was already gone, and now he was forbidden to act, as he had done for some years, as deputy-chaplain for Mr. Oakeley, and to read morning and evening prayers. This prohibition was made shortly before the feast of SS. Simon and Jude in 1844. On that day, in the ordinary course of things, he was to read the Epistle at the Communion service on one side of the Communion table, while Dr. Jenkyns, as senior ecclesiastic, read the Gospel at the other side. Mr. Ward himself expected some sort of protest from the Master, and he was not disappointed. A scene long remembered by the undergraduates who were present followed. Directly the Master saw Mr. Ward advancing to the Epistle side of the table he shot forth from his place and rushed to the Gospel side, and just as Mr. Ward was beginning, commenced in his loudest tones: "The Epistle is read in the first chapter of St. Jude." Mr. Ward made no further attempt to continue, and the Master, now thoroughly roused, read at him across the Communion table. The words of the Epistle were singularly appropriate to the situation, and the Master, with ominous pauses and looks at the irreverent Puseyite, who had sown sedition in the Church and blasphemed the heads of houses, read as follows slowly and emphatically: "For there are certain men crept in unawares [pause, and look at Mr. Ward] who were before of old ordained unto this condemnation [pause and look] ungodly men" [pause and look]; and a little later, still more slowly and bitterly, he read, "they speak evil of dignities!" These scenes, which were remembered by the young members of the party as the lighter and more amusing side of the drama of the movement, are said to have really told painfully on the spirits of the kind-hearted Master. He had a genuine and cordial affection for Ward, and, entirely unable as he was to understand the line he adopted, seems to have felt towards him as a father towards a son whom he has cared for and taken a pride in, and who at last robs and forges and goes thoroughly to the bad. A year later, after Mr. Ward had left Balliol and married, an old college servant who was much attached to the Master said to Mrs. Ward in tones of deep feeling, "Oh, ma'am, I'm so glad you've taken Mr. Ward away.

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B

You don't know—he was leading the poor Master such a life of it.”—
 “W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement,” pp. 324, 325.

The “Ideal” excited world-wide interest. It affected men of essentially different opinions and intellectual bias. The *Edinburgh* held it up triumphantly as an illustration of what Puseyism was coming to; in the *Quarterly* it was attacked by Mr. Gladstone. It was read by persons as far asunder as Keble, Mill, Sir William Hamilton, Dollinger, and Comte. But no official notice was taken of the book by the University until six months after its appearance. Then, it was not only proposed to censure and degrade Ward, but to institute a test as well. But this latter step was found impracticable, and was afterwards abandoned.

On February 13 Convocation met, and certain chosen passages from the “Ideal” were proposed for censure. The censure was carried. Then it was moved that the author of these passages had forfeited his degrees of B.A. and M.A. This, too, was carried, but by a smaller majority. Ward spoke in his own defence for more than an hour “with remarkable rapidity, but at the same time with great calmness and self-possession, with the air of a man, in fact, who felt a deep conviction that he was right.” The boldness of the speech must have startled Oxford beyond all words.

It had little in it that was conciliatory. Even when his argument was strongest and most convincing, and his delivery most forcible, he would remind his hearers—*parenthetically*, as Professor Jowett tells me—that he held the “whole cycle of Roman doctrine.” To its power many who remember it testify in strong terms. Stanley, who was standing near Jowett, said to him, “They would never have let Ward speak in English if they had known how well he could speak.” But his whole defence implied and expressed as its sole ground the unwelcome assumption of the hopelessly illogical character of the English Church. His judges were, he maintained, utterly unjustified, in all consistency of logic, in condemning him, because the Church to which they belonged was itself hopelessly inconsistent. If the rest of the Anglican formularies were consistent with the Articles, he had no *locus standi*. But amid a hopeless jumble of inconsistent pledges, he remained free and untrammelled; and the Church remained convicted of folly and self-contradiction.—“W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement,” pp. 340, 341.

The case supplies one more illustration of the impatience with which the Church of England regards Catholic teaching,

while it thinks little or nothing of heretical and Socinian tendencies; though it cannot be denied that his constant repetition of his belief in "all the doctrines of the Roman Church," a statement which, according to James Mozley, if he made once, he made twenty times in the course of his speech, was a pill too bitter to be swallowed by Convocation. Ward seems to have been in no way depressed by the degradation, and his good spirits even survived the fall in the snow, which tradition says he sustained when crossing the threshold of the Sheldonian. He was cheered by the undergraduates as he walked home in company with Tait, who, by the way, had voted against him on the first count. But before the termination of the proceedings, the proposal had been made to condemn Tract 90, which was defeated by the intervention of the Proctors.

When the resolution [against the Tract] was put a shout of *non* was raised, and resounded through the whole building, and *placets* from the other side, over which Guillemard's *nobis Procuratoribus non placet* was heard like a trumpet and cheered enormously. The Dean of Chichester threw himself out of his doctor's seat and shook both Proctors [Guillemard and Church] violently by the hand, and without any formal dissolution, indeed, without a word more being spoken, as if such an interposition [as the Proctors' *reto*] stopped all business, the Vice-Chancellor tucked up his gown, and hurried down the steps that led from his throne into the area, and hurried out of the theatre; and in five minutes the whole scene of action was cleared.—Mozley's "Letters," and the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1845. Quoted on p. 342.

The undergraduates who were cheering Ward, saluted the Vice-Chancellor with snow-balls and hisses.

On the afternoon of that eventful day, an incident occurred which was memorable in after days. Ward had gone to see Pusey, and was discussing some of the results of his altered position. What would Dr. Jenkyns say to his being a Fellow of Balliol, and yet an *undergraduate* also? What kind of dress was he to wear? His joking anticipations were interrupted by a voice,

which was heard to say in grave and measured accents: "The situation seems to me, Mr. Ward, to be one of the utmost gravity. It is indeed a serious crisis. Let us not at such a time give way to a spirit of levity or hilarity." The speaker was Archdeacon Manning, who had voted for Mr. Ward, but whose first personal introduction to him was on this occasion. Later in life he came, I think, to acquit Ward of levity, and to

enjoy a joke in the course of their theological discussions. The acquaintance thus begun grew in after years to relations of cordial intimacy, which lasted to the end of Ward's life.—“W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement,” p. 343.

The Convocation had taken place on February 13, 1845. Six weeks later Mr. Ward was married to Miss Wingfield, a lady who, as an ardent Puseyite and a disciple of Oakeley, had followed the events of Ward's career with the warmest interest and sympathy. In the following September, husband and wife were both received into the Catholic Church by Father Brownbill, in the temporary chapel of the Jesuit Fathers in Bolton Street. Their intention had it seems reached Oxford, and on the morning of their reception, their breakfast-table was covered with missives, serious and jocose, from members of the University. “Among others,” says our author, “was a parody of a well-known poem commencing thus :

O Wardie, I believed thee true,
And I was blessed in so believing;
But now I own I never knew
A youth so base and so deceiving.”

These lighter contributions to his breakfast-table Ward enjoyed thoroughly, while the graver remonstrances could only make him wish that their writers might share the peace and happiness which now filled his heart.

The new converts soon returned to Rose Hill, near Oxford, where they had fixed their abode on their marriage, and Father Whitty has given us a delightful picture of their home, where he also met Oakeley, now himself a Catholic.

Their whole tone of mind [he tells us] and perfect simplicity of piety, reminded me of sketches one reads of the early Christians. They were perfectly full of the great cause of the Church, of working for England's conversion, and seemed to care not at all for mere gossip or private matters.—“W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement,” p. 366.

I cannot refrain from quoting one remark which Ward's conversion elicited from Pusey, who was at the time he spoke grieving also at the loss of Newman, and at the final collapse of the Oxford Movement.

It is very sad [he remarked]. And all who have left us have deteriorated so much—all, that is, with two exceptions. One exception is Newman, whose nature is so beautiful, so perfect, that nothing, not even

going over to Rome, could change him. The other exception is Ward. Ward had got so bad already that with him further deterioration was impossible.

We may imagine with what fierce joy Ward used to quote this delightful *dictum*. And here it may not be out of place to note the very curious attitude of mind which Pusey exhibited in connection with Newman's conversion. He could not bring himself to think any evil of his dear friend (as who could, who knew him so intimately?), and yet, years before Newman's conversion, he had a fear that it might one day take place. And the reason for this fear seems to us as original as it was ingenious, while the revelation which it gives us of Pusey's utter incapacity to grasp the full meaning of a divinely founded Church, seems to explain in some measure how it was that he never followed Newman's example. He had heard that Newman was prayed for by name in religious houses and churches on the continent, and the fear came upon him lest, in reply to such earnest petitions, Newman might be given to them [the Catholics] as "an instrument of God's glory among them," and "that their prayers may be heard, that God will give them whom they pray for—we forfeit whom we desire not to retain."* And he adds:

And now (that Newman has left the Church of England) must they not think that their prayers which they have offered so long—at times I think night and day, or at the Holy Eucharist—have been heard? And may we not have forfeited him because there was, comparatively, so little love and prayer?†

Thus, according to this extraordinary theory, was Newman, in taking the step which brought him "perfect peace and contentment,"‡ in some sort, "Cursed with the burden of an Answered Prayer." But we must return to our subject. Ward had not been long a Catholic before he settled at Old Hall, in the neighbourhood of St. Edmund's College, with which his name was so long connected. An arrangement was come to which enabled him to lay out a legacy in the erection of a house, within the college park. His architect was Pugin, whose acquaintance he had made while still at Oxford. The

* *Vide* "Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey," by H. P. Liddon, D.D., vol. ii. p. 460.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "Apologia," p. 238.

"great Goth," as he has been humorously styled, had marvelled "that so glorious a man as Ward should be living in a room without mullions to the windows"—a remark which drew from Ward a confession of complete ignorance as to what mullions were! During the building of the house at Old Hall, Pugin obtained a fuller insight into his client's architectural deficiencies, and these after a while became so glaring, that he regretted having "designed so respectable a house for him," adding that, if he had his way, Ward should live in a room *opposite Warwick Street Chapel!* Pugin's tastes became at length so sensitive that, on his going on one occasion to visit a friend, he warned his host that he could not eat puddings which were not Gothic in shape! And on Ward writing to acknowledge the authorship of a letter against screens in churches, which he considered undevotional, Pugin replied telling him that he regarded him as "a greater enemy to true Christianity than the most rabid Exeter Hall fanatic." "I knew Pugin was strong in rood screens," remarked Ward; "I did not know he was so good a hand at rude letters."

At Old Hall, living partly on the proceeds of his literary and teaching labours, and partly on the small fortune which his wife brought him, Mr. Ward spent what he afterwards described as far the happiest years of his life, and far happier than any which he anticipated in the future. And here his biographer leaves him, at the end of the earlier volume. As we close the record of this part of his great career, when all his struggles after truth are at an end, when his perplexities and doubts are no more, we seem to feel, what Ward himself must so abundantly have felt, that we are "coming into port after a rough sea."* And that his readers should experience this, is, to our thinking, the greatest compliment which the writer can receive as to the consummate ability with which his labour has been achieved.

For many readers Mr. Wilfrid Ward's later volume, which appeared in the spring of last year, will offer less attraction than did its predecessor. The cause of this is not far to seek. In the first place the progress of a great mind as it gradually approaches the truth, must always be transcendently interesting.

* "Apologia," p. 236.

The books which picture that growth will survive indefinitely the more or less ephemeral controversies which retarded or stimulated it. Which amongst us, for example, would care to follow the ups and downs of the Manichæan controversy? Yet as long as literature exists, as long as mind speaks to mind, the Confessions of St. Augustine will be read, not as the record of a dead and gone polemic, but as the history of the gradual elevation to God's truth of the great luminary of the Western Church.

Who again is there that, for the mere merits of the case, would plod through the countless volumes to which the Oxford Movement gave birth, those bloated bundles of pamphlets, or those more formidable tomes, which "still occupy upper shelves, their backs paler year by year, the dust thickening upon their edges, uncut, practically not worth the cutting."*

And yet who can doubt that, when Protestantism is no more, and when the Church stands, as the sole champion of her Master's divinity, face to face with materialism and infidelity, the record of Newman's mind will live, not merely on account of the matchless English with which it is clothed, but because within its pages, according to its author's pregnant motto: *Cor ad cor loquitur*?

And thus we believe that the earlier of the two volumes which Mr. Wilfrid Ward has given us will, for a similar reason, exceed in interest as the years go on, its admirably written companion. And yet, taken as the history of one to whom the much abused word genius must be applied, as the record of the *Fidei propugnator acerrimus* of his epitaph, of a great Catholic champion, of a man who made no account whatever of intellect, where piety and the spiritual life were in the opposing scale, of one who chose poverty and obscurity because he loved truth better than affluence and success, this volume should, for Catholics at least, hold its place beside its elder brother.

Mr. Ward's Catholic life, so far as his intellectual work is concerned, divides itself naturally into the period of his teaching at St. Edmund's, his writings (especially his writings in

* *The Times*, Sept. 18, 1882.

this REVIEW) on the controversy which culminated at the time of the Vatican Council, and his philosophical and metaphysical polemic against such men as Professor Huxley, John Stuart Mill, and Dr. Alexander Bain. It is when analysing these latter controversies that our author displays the striking clearness of his style. To master such subjects at all is no light task. But to state the various sides to a long and intricate controversy upon abstruse questions of speculative philosophy, and to do so with even-handed justice and temper, and at the same time with such limpid clearness that the whole reads like a simple narrative of facts, is an achievement so considerable that it raises its author far above the average level of English descriptive and analytical biographers.

Turning to another part of this volume, we have heard doubts, and strong doubts, expressed as to whether Mr. Wilfrid Ward was well advised in once more bringing up the domestic controversies of twenty-five years ago. The circumstances which gave rise to them have long since passed away, and though, in a certain sense, their interest remains, at least for the present generation, their ardour and vehemence were the cause of so much pain and so much misunderstanding, that many readers will be sorry to see them revived. Mr. Wilfrid Ward seems to have had this in mind, for he tells us in his Preface* that

in England, as in France, the intense devotedness of the men who took for a time opposite views as to the policy which was most advantageous for the cause of the religious revival, resulted in strong feeling on either side. The time has come when it is necessary to give some account of this, if exaggerated or inaccurate rumours are to be arrested, and the story is to be told before those who knew its circumstances have passed away.

Thinking thus, and to supply in a convenient form some means of studying a past controversy, Mr. Wilfrid Ward was perhaps right in dealing as minutely as he has done with the questions involved. The term "religious (meaning Catholic) revival," however, a little sticks in our throats. Such a term may perhaps be used of post-Revolutionary France; but surely it cannot be applied, except in an extremely limited and modified, and altogether different sense, to England. If

* Pp. x. xi.

Catholics in any country, having fallen into a state of relaxation and apathy, were roused once more to their duties, "revival" would be a fit and proper term to apply to the circumstance. But in England the case was not really parallel to this at all. Catholics at one time were numerically few, but they were not, individually or as a body, relaxed, and, except in the sense that, by the addition of numbers and the growing justice of the Legislature, the Church began to recover from her wounds, the word revival is scarcely an apt term to apply. Besides this, certain forms of dissent have conveyed to the word an odious and sinister meaning, which is as little in accordance with true Catholic piety as is the wild onrush of a savage mob with the steady march of a disciplined army.

Still, if the narrative of bygone controversies had to be given, it could not perhaps have been better done. Some day we may hope for the record of these events from Cardinal Newman's point of view; but while waiting for that, we can point to this volume as a great help towards understanding the position of the great Oratorian in those troubled times. That people in general misunderstood this position is certainly not wonderful. It was necessarily complex in the extreme. Newman himself felt this when he said "a man who has been mixed up with two such different people as Ward and Simpson, cannot explain himself without writing a volume."

But in the space now at our disposal we prefer to revert to the more personal aspects of Ward's character, rather than to follow, in a necessarily meagre manner, the controversies, domestic and external, in which he bore a part.

To gain any full insight into the character of William George Ward our readers must study the volumes before us. To take out from their context illustrations of his unique personality is really to spoil the picture which his son has drawn. But there are certain incidents and anecdotes of his career which well bear quotation; while to those who enjoyed his personal acquaintance, they will recall the charm of the days when he was still amongst us.

As his friends and enemies long ago acknowledged, he was as absolutely free from pedantry and pretence as it is possible for man to be. We have already given an instance of this in the candour with which he avowed his ignorance at the

University Examination. His life abounded with similar examples. Soon after his conversion he found himself in what was almost penury. Suddenly, as he was one day pacing the lawn, a gentleman approached him who offered him £300 a year to undertake the education of his son. In order to teach this new pupil astronomy, he begins himself to learn it. "I am reading two chapters ahead," he says, addressing the pupil. "Ask nothing that comes later." Again, witness the "grotesquely truthful" replies which he made to the questions put to him at an insurance office to which he had applied :

Is your general health good?—It is deplorably bad. Has your family any hereditary complaints?—I should fully expect so. Well, but you look well; I suppose you eat well and sleep well at night.—I have never had a good night in my life. And so on (p. 11).

Then there was an amusing scene between a Priest and himself about a scruple he felt at being unable to wish that the life of an uncle, for whom he did not care in the least, and whose property he was in course of law to inherit, should be prolonged. It was during his uncle's last illness :

It is quite enough [said the Priest] that you should feel a certain regret at the prospect of your uncle's *death*, though you may be pleased to inherit his property. But Mr. Ward's candour was too great to accept this.—I feel no regret whatever at the prospect, he said. Well, you must have a certain wish, quite apart from other consequences, that he might be spared.—No, not the slightest! I never cared for him in the least.—Your poor uncle has been suffering—your spirits fall a little at all events when you hear he is worse?—On the contrary, they rise. Good heavens [said the Priest suddenly], you would not do anything to *hasten* his death, would you?—The roar of laughter with which Ward greeted this question was a sufficient answer to it (*vide* pp. 9, 10).

His health made it essential that he should take riding exercise, and he used to say that, had he not come into money enough to enable him to hire or purchase a horse, he would certainly have died. But his riding was one of his greatest trials. He had the utmost difficulty in sitting a horse at all, and yet his doctor insisted upon at least an hour's riding each day. He could not even rise in the stirrups, and unless the horse was extremely powerful, it ran the risk of breaking its knees. If he mounted a strong horse, he would find to his "profound alarm," that it was beyond his control, and he had

to call to his groom at once, "Take me off, take me off." Asked if he did not become fond of his horses, "Fond of my horses?" he replied, "you might as well ask if I were fond of my pills." And no wonder, seeing that it was no very uncommon event for him to be thrown, though he never received any injury. The only mitigation of the trial of having to ride

lay in the intense amusement he found in the incongruity of the whole performance . . . and the picture of himself rising at the appointed hour, leaving his scholastic folio for the riding school in fear and trembling, placing himself, with a profound sense of his own incompetence, unreservedly in the hands of his groom, to do what he would with him, was one which tickled his imagination.—"W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival," pp. 79, 80.

Dean Goulburn supplies a most humorous description of one of these daily exercises, which is unfortunately too long to quote. In the intervals, while a fresh horse was being prepared, the Dean relates how Ward would approach him, rubbing his hands and saying, "Now then, Goulburn, I'm quite ready to begin that argument again where we left it off."

Whether as an addition to horse exercise or instead of it, Ward designed a kind of chair, which, by a mechanical contrivance, produced a motion similar to that of a trotting horse. His friend, Henry Wilberforce, who to the end of his life could never without extreme difficulty decipher Ward's calligraphy (the "walking-sticks gone mad" of Lord Tennyson), used jokingly to maintain that he conducted his correspondence while being jerked up and down in the chair. So essential to his health was this exercise, that a special chair was built on one occasion when Ward had to leave home to vote against Sir John Simeon's candidature, so that he might not lose the exercise even for a day.

But any account of Ward would be incomplete indeed which did not say something of his passion for music. It was probably his greatest earthly pleasure. He was as a rule a bad sleeper. Writing to Mrs. Ward to report a good night, which he enjoyed soon after the appointment of Manning to the See of Westminster, he says: "A good sleep at night and a good Archbishop by day (and a good opera in the evening) are adequate for human felicity" (p. 223).

Years before, when at Oxford, he had been advised by Pusey to abstain from music during Lent, as his health forbade him to fast. Three weeks were passed without his great solace when, one day meeting Coffin in High Street, Ward complained to him of intense depression, which made him feel as if he were going out of his mind. Could not a little music be allowed? After a discussion, it was agreed that strictly sacred music would be no harm.

Beginning with Cherubini's "O Salutaris" they gradually passed to "Possenti Numi" in the "Flauto Magico." But this opened a book containing songs somewhat lighter, and the duet between Papageno and Papagena followed. The music waxed faster and livelier till it culminated in "Largo al Factotum," the lightest and raciest of buffo songs, in the middle of which one of the company suddenly recollected that the room in Christ Church in which he was singing was separated only by a thin wall from Dr. Pusey's own rooms.—"W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," pp. 40, 41.

And how well those who knew him can sympathise with his sufferings when, between the acts of the "Barbiere," the then editor of the *Tablet*, Mr. Wallis, told him the result of one of his controversies in Rome, the news of which had just reached London, and when, on the same evening, he was introduced to a partisan of Döllinger! In his biographer's words:

Ward, imagining himself in the streets of Seville, gossiping with Figaro, laughing at Bartolo, drinking in the music from the voices of Almaviva and Rosina, forgetting that there was such a thing as a Liberal Catholic party and an approaching Council, was roughly awakened to the realities and the pains of life. The opera was spoilt, the illusion could not be restored . . . and he rose with a heavy heart and left before the second act was half over. With an assumption of humour, but with very real feeling, he said when he next met the editor of the *Tablet*: "If you ever meet me at the opera again, I have two requests to make: 1st. That you will not talk about theology; 2nd. That you will not introduce me to Döllingerites.—"W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival," p. 233.

And now, with painful consciousness of how little I have done justice to these most delightful and admirably written volumes, I bring this notice of them to a close. I am conscious that I have not given any real account at all of the years which Ward spent as a Catholic, of his labours for the Church he loved so dearly, of his championship of true philosophy against the various discordant speculations of infidel

writers, or of the work which he regarded as the greatest of his life, of instructing the divines in theology, at St. Edmund's. Still less have I left myself space to speak of that hidden life of piety and recollection of God's presence, which formed so important a feature in his character. As for this last point, let us turn to the account of his death-bed, written, not in these volumes, but in a sympathetic memoir which appeared a few years ago. A man on his death-bed speaks truth; and Ward, as we have seen, was transparently truthful all his life through. And this is what he said: "God knows that, with all my faults, I have had no stronger desire than that of loving Him and promoting His glory." And his last words were: "I wish to go to my Saviour." And this he did on Thursday, July 6, 1882.* We can well imagine that the writing of these volumes was a labour of love to their author. He is rightly proud of such a father, and we like to think how, if he were still amongst us, the father would be proud, and justly proud, of his son!

WILFRID WILBERFORCE.

* *Vide Merry England* for May 1885, p. 9.

ART. II.—TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*. Edited, with an Introduction. &c., by FREDERICK H. SCRIVENER, M.A., &c. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1864.
2. *Codex Laudianus sive Actus Apostolorum Graece et Latine ex Codice olim Laudiano nunc Bodleiano*. Edidit A. F. CONSTANTINUS DE TISCHENDORF. Leipsic: Hinrichs. 1870.
3. *Codex Bezae: a Study of the so-called Western Text of the New Testament*. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. Cambridge: University Press. 1891.
4. *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*. By W. M. RAMSAY, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.
5. *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*. By FREDERICK HENRY CHASE, B.D. London: Macmillan. 1893.
6. *Ein alte Recension der Apostelgeschichte*. Von Dr. C. BLASS. In *Studien u. Kritiken*, January 1894. Berlin: Perthes.

NOT less emphatic than the Holy Father's condemnation, in his late Encyclical, of the "inept method" of the *soi-disant* "Higher Criticism," is his encouragement of critical investigations conducted on sound principles with the object of fixing and determining as accurately as possible the true text of the Sacred Books. And not the least important part of these investigations is concerned with the endeavour to trace, as far as may be possible, the history of the transmission of the text both in its original languages and in its more important versions. Within the last few years the Book of the Acts of the Apostles has in a very special manner engaged the attention of those scholars who have made the subject of textual criticism their own; and in particular four of the distinguished writers, whose names stand at the head of this article, have recently published the results of a close study of that peculiar recension

of the Acts which is exhibited by a famous Cambridge MS., called—after the name of its donor—the *Codex Bezae*. I hope to do some slight service to those biblical students, who may not have access to the works in question, by giving a brief account of their main drift, and I will venture, with that reserve which befits my own more limited acquaintance with the subject, to record a provisional judgment on the chief points at issue. Dr. Scrivener's monumental edition of the *Codex Bezae*, and Tischendorf's still more sumptuous facsimile of the *Codex Laudianus Actuum* (of which more anon), are the foundations on which all subsequent scholars have built. I have therefore placed their titles at the head of the list of works, of which we are here to take account. But our chief concern will be with the hypotheses put forward with reference to the Bezan text by Mr. Rendel Harris, Professor Ramsay, Mr. Chase, and Dr. Blass respectively.

It may, perhaps, be not superfluous to mention that the *Codex Bezae* is a sixth-century Græco-Latin MS. of the Gospels and the Acts hailing probably from Southern Gaul.* The Greek and Latin texts are arranged in parallel columns, and the text is broken up into short lines of somewhat unequal length, the end of each line usually corresponding to some slight pause in the sense. For the most part the words are written continuously, *i.e.*, without a break between word and word, but the spaces and points occurring here and there both in the Greek and in the Latin texts, taken together with other indications which need not here be specified, indicate that the Codex is a copy of an older MS. in which a similar yet not identical "colometry" was observed, the lines in the older MS. having been in many cases shorter than in the actual *Codex Bezae*. Confining our attention for the present to the Bezan text of the Acts, it is to be observed that the most striking features of that text is the presence of a very large number of interpolations or glosses, or rather of what must be regarded as such on the hypothesis that the current text is really entitled to be regarded as representing the original

* The MS. originally contained, between the Gospels and the Acts, the Catholic Epistles. Of these, however, only one small fragment has been preserved. There are also considerable *lacunæ* in the Gospels and Acts. That *Codex Bezae* was in Southern Gaul for many centuries is matter of history. That it was actually written there is highly probable, but not quite certain.

form of the Acts.* Of such glosses Scrivener reckons more than 600, and of these Mr. Harris has selected 190, which he exhibits in a most helpful table, occupying nearly seven pages (pp. 215-221) of his monograph on the Bezan MS. Similar lists form the nucleus, or rather the backbone, of Dr. Blass's paper and of Mr. Chase's volume. That of Dr. Blass is by far the most elaborate in its record of collateral attestations with their several divergences, but Mr. Harris's list has the great merit of striking the eye and of being easily comprehended at a glance.

Obviously I can here give no more than a selection from Mr. Harris's 190 "selected glosses," but in order to convey anything like an adequate notion of the character of the Bezan text it will be necessary to set before the reader a considerable number of examples. Our first set of instances shall be taken from what Mr. Harris describes as "a group of bold and startling expansions of the narratives, the major part of which certainly proceeded from a common hand" (p. 223). For the reader's convenience I will give the texts in English, marking by italics the words and phrases which the *Codex Bezae* adds to the current text.

ii. 41. This man *gazing with his eyes and seeing* Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked them for an alms.

iii. 11. And as Peter and John went out *he went with them, holding them fast, but they (i.e., the people) wondering* stood in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly astonished.

iv. 18. *But they all having taken counsel together, &c.*

iv. 32. *And there was no dissension among them.*

v. 15. *And they were set free from every infirmity which each of them had.*

v. 22. *But the servants when they came and opened the prison found them not within.*

v. 38, 39. *Refrain from these men and let them alone, soiling not your hands, for if this counsel or this work be of men it will be overthrown, but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them, neither you nor kings nor princes; refrain ye therefore from these men.*

vi. 15. *Like the face of an angel standing in the midst of them.*

vii. 21. *And when he (Moses) was cast out by the river.*

vii. 24. *Smiting the Egyptian and hiding him in the sand.*

viii. 1. *Except the Apostles who remained in Jerusalem.*

* For the purposes of this article the minor differences between the "received text," strictly so called, and the modern recensions of (e.g.) Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, or Weiss (Leipzig, 1893), may be left out of account.

viii. 24. *And he ceased not to weep much.*

x. 25. *And when Peter drew nigh to Cæsarea, one of his servants going before announced that he had come, and Cornelius leaping up and going to meet him, fell at his feet. (T. R. And when it came to pass that Peter entered, &c.).*

xi. 2. *Now Peter of a long time was desirous to go to Jerusalem, and calling the brethren he comforted them, holding much discourse through the land, teaching them that came to meet him, and announcing to them the grace of God. (T. R. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, &c.).*

xii. 27. *There came down prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch, and there was great rejoicing. And when we were gathered together, &c.*

xii. 10. *Et cum exissent descenderunt septem gradus et processerunt gradum (T. R. vicum) unum.*

xii. 20. *Now he was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon; and they came with one accord from both cities to the king.*

xii. 21, 22. *And upon a set day Herod arrayed himself in royal apparel, and sat on the judgment-seat, and made an oration to the people; and whereas he forgave the Syrians, the people cried out (saying): The voice of a god, &c.*

xii. 23. *And when he came down from the judgment-seat he was eaten of worms while yet living, and even thus gave up the ghost.*

xiv. 7. *they preached the Gospel. And all the multitude was moved at their teaching. But Paul and Barnabas tarried at Lystra.*

xvi. 35. *But when it was day the magistrates gathered together in the forum, and remembering the earthquake which had taken place they sent the serjeants saying, &c.*

Not less important in their way than these "graphic expansions," are a whole class of glosses which appear to have a doctrinal tendency. Not that they set forth any new or strange dogmas, but they bring into stronger relief certain closely-related truths. Thus many of them by special emphasis on the Person and work of the Holy Spirit, on the power of the Holy Name, on *παρρησία* or freedom of speech in the cause of God, on the distinction between believers and non-believers, on the necessity of faith, especially in connection with baptism, on the preaching of the Gospel and the Word or the Person of Christ (Harris, pp. 221, 222). The following are some instances, the intended words and phrases being as before indicated by italics.

iv. 24. *And they hearing it and recognising the power of God, &c.*

vi. 10. *And they were not able to withstand the wisdom which was in him and the Holy Spirit by which he spake, for as much as they were convicted by him (or Him) in all freedom of speech, &c.*

[No. 11 of Fourth Series.]

xi. 17. Who was I that I could withstand God, that He should not give them the Holy Spirit, seeing they believed in Him.

xv. 32. Judas and Silas being themselves also prophets, full of the Holy Spirit.

xix. 1. And whereas Paul desired according to his own counsel to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit said to him that he should return to Asia, and having passed through the upper country he came to Ephesus. (The Bezan reading has displaced the words "And it came to pass that while Apollos was at Corinth.")

xviii. 4. *Et interponens nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*

xviii. 8. *Per nomen Domini nostri, &c.*

xvi. 4. And as they went on their way through the cities they preached and delivered to them with all freedom of speech our Lord Jesus Christ, at the same time delivering to them the decrees, &c.

iv. 31. And they spake the word of God with boldness, &c., *omni volenti credere.*

xvii. 12. Many of them therefore believed, but some would not believe.

xv. 38. But Paul would not, and said to those who had withdrawn from them from Pamphylia and who went not to the work whereto they were sent, that such an one should not be with them. (T. R. But Paul thought not good to take with them those who, &c.).

xv. 20. And that what they would not should be done to themselves, to others do ye not. (Added to the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem. The grammatical anacoluthon is in the Greek and Latin text. A similar addition, together with the words *φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*, is found in xv. 29).

The reader has now before him sufficient materials from which to form a good general idea of the character of the Bezan text with its "glosses" or "interpolations." But are they glosses or interpolations? Or does *Codex Bezae* perchance represent, as Bornemann thought, the primitive text of the Acts, of which the current text is only an imperfect and mutilated transcript? Bornemann indeed has had, so far as we are aware, not a single follower among textual critics; but now Dr. Blass comes forward with a hypothesis more startling even than Bornemann's; so startling indeed, and of such interest, that though latest in time we must needs discuss it before passing on to the consideration of the views put forward by Harris, Ramsay, and Chase. He suggests that the Bezan text and the *receptus* represent nothing less than two successive editions of the Acts put forth by St. Luke himself! Or, to speak more precisely, that the longer text represents the inspired writer's *first draft* of his work, while the shorter reproduces, with more or less exact fidelity, the fair copy which

St. Luke sent to Theophilus. It is so refreshing to find a really learned author taking for granted, in these days of "advanced" criticism, that St. Luke was the author of the Acts, that one is inclined—in consideration of this fundamental orthodoxy—to allow such a writer a little license in the matter of subsidiary hypotheses. Needless to say, however, Dr. Blass claims no such license; and his hypothesis must be examined on its merits. The grounds on which it rests appear to be these.

1. The Bezan glosses do not stand alone. A very large proportion of them are found in the *Codex Laudianus*, another Græco-Latin MS., dating, like *Codex Beza*, from the sixth century.* Again, a very considerable number of them, as well as others of a similar character which do not occur in *Codex Beza*, are met with either in the margin or—enclosed between an asterisk and a metobelus—in the text of the Philoxenian Syriac.† Many, too, are attested by the somewhat scanty and fragmentary remains of the old Latin version which has been preserved in various ancient documents, and especially in the early Gallican and Mozarabic lectionaries and in quotations from the Acts in the Latin Fathers (Blass, p. 90). Now this variety of attestation, with its wide geographical diffusion, implies that at an early date the Bezan text must have enjoyed a very high degree of authority. Here is a fact which needs to be accounted for; and though it does not of course amount, nor does Blass pretend that it amounts, to a proof of his theory, it must at least be admitted that the Blassian hypothesis does at first sight supply a plausible explanation of the fact. And the wide currency of the Bezan "glosses" at least requires us to hesitate before we ascribe them to the vagaries of a single unknown scribe or copyist.

2. The Bezan "glosses" are, he thinks, of such a character that no unauthorised person would have thought it worth his

* The *Cod. Laud.* contains, at the end of *Acts*, the opening words of a decree issued by one Flavius (?) Pancratius, who is described as an "Eparch" and governor (δουξ) of Sardinia. The original home of the MS. is thus indicated, and the title of "Eparch" fixes its date as falling between A.D. 534 and 731. On paleographical grounds it is assigned to the sixth century. As Ven. Bede made use of it in his later, but not in his earlier works, it was probably brought to England in his lifetime, perhaps by St. Bennet Biscop.

† These glosses in the Philoxenian were derived either from a Syriac MS. (which is highly improbable), or, as a scribe's note *ad calcem* seems to imply, from a Greek MS. preserved at Alexandria. In either case the attestation is Eastern.

while to insert them. While making the narrative more graphic, and rendering the writer's thought more implicit, they make no substantial addition to what we learn from the current text. On the other hand they are, both in material truth and in other respects, too considerable to have been omitted by the carelessness of copyists (Blass, p. 88). But the facts of the case are, he thinks, satisfactorily accounted for if we suppose the original writer of Acts, *i.e.*, St. Luke himself, after writing a first draft of the text, to have afterwards re-written it omitting a number of phrases not necessary to the integrity of the record. That an author in revising his own work should freely excise and condense is obviously no matter for surprise (p. 89). That a mere copyist should have taken such liberties is to say the least by no means in harmony with what we know of the textual history of the books of the New Testament.

3. But is there any special reason for supposing that St. Luke did in fact write two copies of the Acts? Dr. Blass replies in the affirmative. The writings of St. Luke are distinguished from the other Books of the New Testament by the fact that they were addressed to a person of high rank, the Theophilus of St. Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1. Now a book destined for such a person would be neatly written on choice parchment, and the fair copy would almost certainly be preceded by a rough copy which—under these circumstances—the writer would keep; and which after his death would be preserved and highly prized in the Church. But if once it be admitted that St. Luke wrote two copies of his work, the experience of every one will suggest the probability that the second copy would be distinguished from the first by greater conciseness (*ibid.*).

Such are the heads of Dr. Blass's general argument, which he supplements by notes on individual passages, in which it seems to him beyond question that the longer text is the original from which the shorter has been derived, and not *vice versa*.

It is a little difficult to give specimens of Dr. Blass's method of reasoning on particular passages. At one time he appeals to the literary instinct of the reader, calling on him to recognise that the shorter text is derived from the longer, and

not *vice versa*; or he points out how the Bezan reading, either by supplying a motive or in some other way, clears up the obscurity which here and there besets the shorter text (*e.g.*, xi. 20-22, xx. 3-6); or he calls attention to the fact, which no one denies, that this or that bit of local colouring makes the narrative more graphic (*e.g.*, iii. 11); or lastly he declares that such or such a supposed gloss is altogether superfluous ("recht müssig," *e.g.*, v. 18), and that for that very reason it is not to be thought that anyone would have arbitrarily inserted it ("Aber eben deshalb einem Interpolator nicht zuzutrauen," p. 114). But the real strength of his position lies in the general considerations already set forth.

It is no doubt a tempting hypothesis, and one to which I would willingly subscribe, if only I could satisfy myself that Dr. Blass's grounds were—I will not say convincing—but at least strong enough to support a probable conclusion.* But before they can be so regarded, it would seem that other possible hypotheses concerning the source of the Bezan expansions must be concluded. As long as they are in the field the utmost that can be said for Dr. Blass's theory is that it provides a possible explanation, not that it is positively probable. To these rival hypotheses we will turn our attention presently; but in the meantime I must point out that there are, as it seems to me, some strong positive reasons which militate against Dr. Blass's view. In the first place, while fully recognising the variety and the weight of the collateral attestations in favour of the Bezan additions to the current text, the very considerable variety in the form which these additions take, not merely in patristic quotations, but in textual documents so nearly allied as *Codex Beza* and the *Codex Laudianus*, appears to me to be fatal to their ultimate derivation from so authentic a source as a Greek autograph of St. Luke himself. Under the same head of argument may be brought the singularly ungrammatical construction of not a few of the "glosses." On Dr. Blass's own pages the reader continually reads the words "kontamination," "korrupirt," &c. Why should there be so much "contamination" and "corrup-

* It is hardly necessary to point out that the hypothesis of a double recension of *Acts* in no way militates against the Catholic doctrine of Inspiration. Compare the second (or first) recension of Ps. xviii. in 2 Sam. xxii.

tion" of an authentic text?*" Secondly, as regards some at least of the additions, the tell-tale repetition of the same phrase before and after them proclaims them to be interpolations thrust into the true text. Two notable examples of this occur within a short distance of one another—viz., in v. 39, when the words "refrain ye therefore from these men," which has already occurred in verse 38, is *repeated after the gloss* "neither ye nor kings nor princes;" and vi. 10, where the phrase "being unable to resist the truth" is a mere repetition (with the change of one word) of the genuine phrase "being unable to resist the wisdom," &c., which had occurred just before a little series of intruded phrases. Now such is the family likeness which connects the whole series of the Bezan glosses, that to demonstrate the intrusive nature of even two of them is to throw doubt on the genuineness of the rest. Moreover, Dr. Blass is, we think, hardly on safe ground when he says (p. 89) that the glosses are of such a character that no one would have thought of inserting them. It is not easy to be sure as to what a person, to us entirely unknown, would or would not have thought of doing; but this at least may be said, that if it is possible to indicate a possible external source, or more than one such source, whence the glosses may probably have been derived, something will have been done towards suggesting a motive for interpolating them. Now such a source can in many cases be assigned with something like certainty. Several of the glosses are mere verbal repetitions of phrases occurring elsewhere in Acts; e.g., the phrase "it is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (ix. 4, 5, taken bodily from xxvi. 14). Others fill up the sentence with a detail borrowed from the Old Testament, as when we read that Moses was "cast forth by the river," and that after he had slain the Egyptian he "hid him in the sand" (Acts vii. 21, 24; cf. Exod. ii. 3, 12). Nor can we be at a loss to understand the motive which probably led to the insertion of the "graphic expansions" and "doctrinal" glosses of which mention has already been made, or to the re-casting of the text in cases where the relation of cause and effect might seem to a bold reviser to be somewhat obscure (e.g., x. 25, xii. 20, 21; quoted above).

* On the ungrammatical structure of the Bezan glosses Mr. Chase has a strong passage, which we shall have occasion to quote later.

But let us turn in the next place to Professor Ramsay, and see what light he has to throw on the subject. He deals, indeed, with only a small number of the Bezan readings, but his treatment of these is full of interest. Those of them which add details concerning scenes in the cities of Asia Minor are, he thinks, so graphic and true to nature that sometimes they "almost incline us to think that *Codex Bezae* gives us . . . the original text" (p. 151). Yet this, in view of other considerations, can, he thinks, hardly be the case.

In xix. 9, the addition ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑξῆς δεκάτης ("from the fifth hour to the tenth") can hardly be explained, except as a deliberate impertinence (which is improbable) or as founded on an actual tradition, which was believed by the reviser to have survived in Ephesus from the time of St. Paul's residence there. It is quite probable that this tradition is true. The school would be open for Paul's use after the scholars were dismissed. Now schools opened at daybreak both in Greece and in Rome. . . . It is, therefore, not strange that school should be over one hour before midday (i.e., at the fifth hour, p. 152).

In xx. 4, *Codex Bezae* reads Ἐφέσιοι for Ἀσιανοί. . . . The desire to give due honour to Ephesus in this case would favour the idea that the reviser belonged to, or was closely connected with, that city. But . . . it does not appear safe to infer more than that the reviser was intimately connected with the whole group of churches . . . that lay along the road [from Ephesus] towards South Galatia and Syria . . . and jealous of their honour (p. 154).

Dr. Blass, who in his article takes no account of Professor Ramsay's chapter on the Bezan text, would urge, no doubt, that this truthfulness to nature need not be explained by ascribing the glosses to a diligent collector of local traditions, but that it falls in excellently with his own theory that St. Luke was himself the author of the unabridged (not "expanded") text, and that what more than one of the glosses "almost incline us to think," is in fact precisely what we ought to believe. But Professor Ramsay claims further to have made it clear that on European soil the supposed "reviser" is by no means at home, but blunders rather badly in his efforts to improve the text. Thus:

In xvi. 12, according to the received text, Philippi is the "first (i.e., leading) city of its division of Macedonia, a colonia;" but in *Codex Bezae* it is "the head of Macedonia, a city, a colonia." *The latter description is not expressed in the proper terms, does not cohere well together, and is actually incorrect . . . Philippi was merely first in one of the districts*

into which Macedonia was divided, but not in the whole province. . . . The reviser, unfamiliar with the constitution of the province, understood *Μακεδονίας* as genitive in apposition with *μερίδος*, whereas it is really partitive genitive depending on it: [and being dissatisfied with *μερίδος* as a name for a whole province thought to express the meaning better by omitting it. Moreover] for "first" he substituted the term "head," which is less technically accurate. . . . The reason [of the change] lay in the ambiguity of the phrase. . . . In order to prevent readers from taking the phrase in the sense of "the city nearest in its district, and which they first reached," the reviser altered the expression, and substituted an unmistakable phrase for a doubtful one. In all probability the person who made this change was aware that the interpretation of which he disapproved was advocated by some, and desired to eliminate the possibility of mistake. Whether he was right in his view is even at the present day a matter of controversy; but his attitude towards the passage is clear, and his change is instructive as regards the principles on which he treated the text of *Acts* (pp. 156, 157).

As regards other expansions "in the European part of the narrative," Mr. Ramsay points out that, unlike the Asiatic glosses, they really add nothing to the story, but are either mere inferences from the briefer statements of the received text, or are concerned with "the character of Paul's preaching (xviii. 4), or the intervention of supernatural guidance in his course" (xvii. 5). Obviously, however, cases such as these would afford no ground of argument against Blass's hypothesis, for St. Luke himself might well omit expressions which only told what the reader could infer for himself, or which told anew what had been sufficiently indicated elsewhere. But it is otherwise with instances in which the Bezan text involves a positive error, as seems to be the case in the passage concerning Philippi, and in xvii. 15 ("and he passed by Thessaly, for he was prevented from preaching the word to them") where, as Mr. Ramsay points out, the reviser seems to have mistaken a sea-voyage for a journey by land (p. 160). If one such instance of an error of fact in the Bezan glosses can be established, this should be sufficient to throw suspicion upon the whole body of them, and to bring them down from the high position assigned to them by Blass to the humble condition of unauthorised interpolations.

I cannot here dwell on the reasons which have led Mr. Ramsay to assert that the Bezan text of *Acts* is "founded on a Catholic recension" (p. 161), certain features in the narrative

which are "characteristic of the social system of Asia Minor," but which were distasteful to the Church at large, having been eliminated (e.g., "the prominence of women," xvii. 12, 34). But we must find space for a portion of the passage in which he sums up his conclusions.

The freedom with which the reviser treated the text proves that he was a person of some position and authority. The care that he took to suit the text to the facts of the day proves that he desired to make it intelligible to the public. The knowledge that he shows of the topography and the facts of Asia and of South Galatia proves that he was intimately acquainted with the churches from Ephesus on the West to Iconium and Lystra on the East; and the felicity with which he treats the text, in all that relates to Asia, seems to be due to his perfect familiarity with the country, for it deserts him when he tries to apply the same treatment to the European narrative (p. 163).

Then follows an argument to prove from the reviser's use of certain politico-geographical terms, that "he belonged to the second century," and in particular that "his knowledge was gained before Lycaonia was disjoined from Galatia between 138 and 161 A.D." "The revision, he concludes, "can hardly be dated later than A.D. 150-160" (p. 164).

Quite at variance with Professor Ramsay is Mr. Rendel Harris. His leading thesis is that the origin of the Bezan glosses is to be sought *not in the Greek text of that MS., but in the Latin version.* His general grounds for this hypothesis are these.

1. The collateral attestation of the glosses is Latin rather than Greek. Many of them are supported, as has been seen, by the bilingual *Codex Laudianus*, by MSS. embodying fragments of the old Latin Version, and by quotations in the Latin Fathers who used that version. On the other hand, the only Greek Father who lends them any support is St. Irenæus; and he, from his long residence at Lyons, deserves to be regarded as belonging to the Western rather than to the Eastern Church.

2. Many of the glosses betray, he holds, a distinctively Montanist tendency, those namely which have been classed above as of a "doctrinal" character. Now the home of Montanism was not the East but the West, and a Montanist reviser might be expected to tamper rather with the Latin than with the Greek text of the Acts.

3. These considerations, however, and especially the latter

of them, could not be trusted of themselves, were it not that a careful examination of a number of individual passages points, in Mr. Harris's opinion, to the priority of the Latin text. And, indeed, the writer of this article must himself acknowledge that he has elsewhere strongly maintained the powerful reflex action of the Bezan Latin on its companion Greek text at least within the limits of the Gospels.*

But whatever may be the case as regards the Gospels, I cannot go with Mr. Harris in assigning a Latin origin to the intrusive glosses of the Bezan Acts. In reply to Mr. Harris's first argument, it is to be observed that, if regard be had to the Philoxenian Syriac, the Eastern attestation is hardly, if at all, not less strong, and, indeed, at first sight, much stronger than the Western. Hence, before an argument can safely be built upon the Latin attestation, it is necessary that the nature of the relation between the Eastern and Western documents which attest the glosses, also—we may add—between the old Syriac and old Latin versions of the New Testament, should be first determined. Secondly, while I fully admit that the "doctrinal" glosses of *Codex Bezae* unquestionably witness to the operation of those tendencies which ultimately issued in the suggestions and excesses of Montanism, there are, I think, no sure grounds on which a specifically Montanist character can be claimed for them. Hence an attempt to fix the date of the glosses by an inquiry as to the date of the *maximum* record of the Montanist thermometer in Rome (Harris, p. 214) is, I think—and I hope Mr. Harris will forgive me for saying so—somewhat beside the mark. Lastly, when we come to look into the particular instances brought forward by Mr. Harris to prove the Latin origin of the glosses, we find that several of them (*e.g.*, i. 4, 5; ix. 20; xv. 29; xvi. 4) are simply cases of Latin attestation or of "Montanism," which need not be here further dealt with, while comparatively few rest on such distinctively grammatical or idiomatic grounds as seem to Mr. Harris to imply "latini-sation." Of these we will discuss one or two presently; but we must first state the case for the hypothesis proposed by Mr. Chase.

Mr. Chase has a theory concerning the Bezan glosses

* In the *Tablet*, June 10th and 17th, 1893.

which is all his own. The old Syriac version of the Acts—did we but possess it—would, he thinks, be found to supply the key to the problem. *Did we but possess it.* In these five words lies the gist of all the objections which we have seen raised against Mr. Chase's theory in such reviews of his book as we have come across. The old Syriac version of the Acts has, so far as is known, perished beyond recovery; though in these days of enterprising exploration and fortunate finds there is no knowing what surprises may be in store for us. Under present circumstances, however, Mr. Chase is fully conscious that his position is "open to the obvious criticism, 'You are judging the Bezan text by a standard which you evolve out of the Bezan text itself. You are arguing in a vicious circle'" (p. ix.). And, indeed, beyond this somewhat elementary criticism, some at least of Mr. Chase's critics do not seem to have gone.

But Mr. Chase has his answer ready. Given a series of interpolations, glosses, expansions, call them what you will, which are common in substance to two documents so closely related as *Codex Beza* and *Codex Laudianus*, but which constantly exhibit a greater or less degree of verbal divergence, we are led to look for the source of these glosses in a document *written in some other language*, to which both Codices are either mediately or immediately indebted at least for these additions to the current text. If it be found, moreover, that a considerable proportion of the glosses show traces of a Syriac idiom or of Syriac usage, there is obviously a presumption that the language from which the verbally divergent glosses are derived is Syriac. If, thirdly, it is found that the actual Syriac Vulgate (the Peshitto) still retains traces of expressions which might well have given birth to some at least of the Bezan and Laudian readings, the case for an old Syriac source is materially strengthened. Now it is precisely on these grounds that Mr. Chase has based his theory.*

A fourth argument which seems to tell in favour of Mr. Chase's view must also be here set forth. I have already

* "My safe emergence, as I hope, from these labyrinths [of conjecture, &c.] I owe to three clues" (chap. x.). We have endeavoured to state, somewhat more plainly and explicitly than Mr. Chase has done, the nature of these "three clues."

expressed the opinion that Dr. Blass has been somewhat hasty in assuming (p. 88) that harmonisation, or a process analogous thereto, has played no part in the building up of the Bezan text. Mr. Chase, on the contrary, shows—satisfactorily as I think—that “assimilation” and borrowing have been potent factors in the case. In many cases, besides the one or two which have been already specified, the Bezan glosses appear to be nothing but more or less appropriate “tags” imported either from other places in the Acts, or from the Gospels, or in some cases perhaps from the Old Testament. Yet it is clear that in several instances they have not been derived from the *Greek* text of the passages in question, whereas there are grounds for thinking that they do reflect the Syriac version of these passages. Moreover, it is hardly open to question that the tendency to eke out the canonical text by sentences thus imported was characteristic of the Syriac Church. The Diatessaron of Tatian is a palmary instance of this tendency working itself out on a large scale, and the importance and influence of the Diatessaron in Syria in the second and third century it would be difficult to over-estimate. A similar tendency is manifest in the apocryphal “Gospel of Peter,” as no one has more conclusively shown than Mr. Harris himself;* and this piece of pseudo-Apostolic patchwork almost certainly came into existence either in Syria or on its very borders. So, too, the patchwork “Epistle to the Laodiceans,” which is first mentioned by that “Nestorian before Nestorius,” Theodore of Mopsuestia, probably had its birthplace not very far from Antioch.

I was at first not a little surprised that Mr. Chase had not laid more stress than he has done on yet another consideration which at first sight seemed likely to turn out more important even than those which he has put forward. I refer to the presence of so large a proportion of the Bezan glosses in the margin, or (marked by an asterisk) in the text of the Philoxenian Syriac. It might be thought that in any argument which seeks to establish the Syriac origin of these interpolations, their actual presence in an extant Syriac text ought to have been regarded as of primary importance. Unfortunately, however, there seems to be little room for

* In the *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1893.

doubt that, as is commonly supposed, the Philoxenian glosses as they stand have not been taken directly from an ancient Syriac MS., but have been translated from the Greek. The grounds for this conclusion will be found at the foot of the page, and the conclusion itself entirely disposes of the claim of the Philoxenian to be regarded as a primary authority for the determination of the question at issue between Mr. Chase and Mr. Harris.* At the same time I think Mr. Chase would have done well to quote the Philoxenian, at least by way of illustration, more frequently than he has done. In such cases as may afford the opportunity I will supply the omission.

I will now bring forward some instances from among those selected by Mr. Chase himself (p. x.), as especially suitable for the establishment of a *prima facie* case for his hypothesis. But while on the one hand I must content myself with giving in each case the briefest possible summary of Mr. Chase's argument, I shall on the other hand venture to supplement, in one particular, what he has written. With a delicacy of feeling which every one must respect he has refrained as far as possible, throughout his volume, from direct criticism of Mr. Harris's opinion (p. viii). The position which he takes up in relation to that opinion may be summarised in a single sentence occurring at the outset of his volume. "To prove that the Bezan Greek text is moulded on a Syriac text is to disprove the theory of its Latinisation" (p. 2). Now I have no wish to show less respect and friendliness than Mr. Chase has shown towards Mr. Harris, to

* It is with some reluctance, and only after a careful examination of the Philoxenian glosses, that I have come to this conclusion. The grounds of it are these: (1) Thomas of Harkel, the reviser of the Philoxenian version, in a note which he appends to the "Book of the Apostolic Acts and of the Seven Catholic Epistles," speaks of having diligently collated the text, not with other Syriac MSS., but with "a very accurate Greek MS. of . . . Alexandria." (2) The asterisks and metobelis are found also in the Euthalian *capitula* which he prefixes to the Pauline Epistles. These *capitula* were certainly translated from the Greek, and, by the nature of the case, could not have been contained in an old Syriac version (White, *Pref.*, p. ix.). (3) The possessive pronoun *dileh* is common in the Philoxenian glosses (Acts xii. 3 mg.), but not in the Curetonian. Again, *παρρησια* is simply transliterated in the Philoxenian gloss at vi. 10, just as in the text at ii. 29, &c. The Curetonian, like the Peshitto, renders *παρρησια* by the phrase 'in bagle. Other instances equally fatal to the claims of these glosses to represent an old Syriac text could no doubt be easily found.;

whom I am indebted for much instruction and for more personal kindness than can fittingly be acknowledged here. But I think that the cause of truth will be served if, besides endeavouring to show that Mr. Chase's Syriac key *does* fit this or that ward of the Bezan lock, I also take occasion to point out how and why the Latin key constructed by Mr. Harris occasionally sticks obstinately fast.* But it is time, as the ascetical writers are fond of saying, to "descend to particulars." †

ii. 17: D. substitutes *αἰρών* for *ἰμῶν* (twice). The change is not easily explained if it originated in Greek or in Latin, but the similarity of the forms *b'nai kun* and *b'nai hun* in Syriac is obvious.

ii. 47: D. substitutes *κόσμον* for *λαόν*, d. *mundum* for *populum*, a change easily accounted for by the similarity (in writing more than in sound) of the Syriac *'amo* (*λαόν*) and *'olmo* (*κόσμον*).

iii. 13: D. interpolates *εἰς κρίσιν*, E. *εἰς κριτήριον*, d.e. *in iudicium*. The two Greek words might be, as Mr. Harris suggests, independent renderings of the common Latin. ‡ But it is noteworthy that the insertion, while not characteristically Latin, is characteristically Syriac, as appears from Lev. xxiv. 20, where both Syr. cur. and Syr. vg. insert *l'dino* (*εἰς κρίσιν*) between *παρέδωκαν* and *θάνατον*(ον). (Chase omits to mention that Syr. phil. mg. has *l'dino* here).

iv. 32: D. adds *καὶ οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις* (*χωρισμός* E.) *ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία*. The synonyms *διάκρισις* and *χωρισμός* are surely translations of an identical word in some other language. But not of a Latin word, for the difference between d. (*accusatio*!) and e. (*separatio*) is still more marked. The Syriac *phelguto* would suit very well, and then the gloss would be nothing more than a phrase imported (in the negative form by substitution of *lail* for *'it*) from John ix. 16. An importation from the Greek text of

* Individual cases of Latinisation in the Bezan Acts must, I think, be admitted. Mr. Chase allows that there may be "a very few passages scattered up and down the MS. in which the scribe, allowing his eye to wander to the Latin copy before him while he wrote the Greek, may have been influenced by the Latin in his transcription of a word or phrase of the Greek. But these instances of Latinisation . . . are at most very rare. . . . and do not affect the essential character of the text" (pp. 2, 3). A large element of Latinisation should, I think, be admitted in the Bezan text of the *Gospels*.

† D. d. indicate respectively the Greek and Latin texts of *Cod. Beza*, E. e. those of *Cod. Laudianus*. Other abbreviations will be readily understood. Mere orthographic peculiarities, though not unimportant in themselves, are here neglected. As Mr. Chase follows, throughout his volume, the order of the text of *Acts*, a detailed reference to his pages will be unnecessary.

‡ "The Latin gloss appears as *in iudicium* in e . . . and in the equivalent *in iudicio* of d; but the Greek . . . is different. . . . Hence we see that the reading must be primitively Latin" (Harris, p. 197). Had he said "may be" or "might be" no one could object, but why "must be"?

John ix. is not to be thought of, for the Greek text there has neither *διάκρισις* nor *χωρισμός*, but *σχίσμα*.

vii. 24: D. adds *ἐκ τοῦ γένους* (*γένους αὐτοῦ*, E.) Again, the divergent Greek and the still more divergent Latin (*de genere suo*, d.; *de natione sua*, e.) put us on the search for a common original, possibly Syriac. It is in fact a characteristically Syriac gloss. Mr. Chase points out that precisely similar expansions occur in Acts x. 28, xiii. 26; 1 Thess. ii. 14 (Peshitto).

xi. 27: D. adds *ἦν δὲ πολλή ἀγαλλίασις* (d. *exaltatio*), *συνεστραμμένων* (d. *revertentibus*!) *δὲ ἡμῶν* (1) The first clause is probably imported from Acts viii. 8, but not from the Greek, which there has *χαρά*, nor from the Latin (*gaudium*). But the Syriac *chaduto*, which in viii. 8 represents *χαρά*, stands for *ἀγαλλίασις* in Luke i. 14, Heb. i. 9, Jude 24, and would fully account for this word in Acts xi. 27. (2) The second clause is perhaps imported from xx. 7; but again not from the Greek, which there has not *συνεστραμμένων* but *συνηγμένων*, nor from the Latin (*collectis*). The Syriac *kad k'nishinan* (xx. 7) would supply the necessary basis for the gloss.

So much for some of Mr. Chase's selected instances. To them I add three others, all from the closing verses of ch. ii.

ii. 37: D. has, "Then all they that were gathered together and heard were pricked in their heart, and some of them said." (1) The first addition to the current text may probably be due to assimilation, the passage from which it is borrowed being Luke xxiii. 48. "Then all they that were gathered together and saw," &c. But the gloss certainly cannot be referred to the Greek text of St. Luke (*καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι*), whereas the phrase used in the Curetonian Syriac (*v'kulhun ailen desh-taurie tamen*) precisely answers to the *πάντες οἱ συνελθόντες* of the Bezan gloss. (2) The insertion of "some of them" accords well with Syriac usage, for a precisely similar insertion (*v'noshin menhun*) has survived in the Peshitto text of ii. 41.

ii. 41: D. substitutes "believed" for "received" (his word). The Peshitto here has "received his word and believed;" and it is difficult to suppose that the Syriac addition and the Bezan substitution of "believed" are independent one of the other.

ii. 45: D. has, "And as many as had possessions . . . sold them," &c., where the current text has merely "And they sold their possessions," &c. The Bezan text precisely answers to the Peshitto Syriac (*vailen d'it 'vo l'hun kenyonno*). Again, it is possible that the Bezan substitution of *πάντες τε* ("all of them") for *καθημέραν* ("daily") in ii. 46 is due to a confusion between the Syriac *kulyom* ("daily") and *kulhun* ("all of them").

But it will be worth while briefly to examine one or two instances of longer glosses, and one or two in which rival

explanations are explicitly put forward by Mr. Harris and Mr. Chase.

xi. 2: D. has, "Now Peter was of a long time desirous to go to Jerusalem, and addressing the brethren he comforted them, holding a long discourse, and teaching them through the countries, and going to meet them (!); and he announced to them the grace of God," &c. The syntax of the passage is more rugged in the Greek than even in our bald translation.* Mr. Chase writes, "This long interpolation, a miniature *περίοδοι Πέτρου*, is a striking example of the desire to assimilate the history of St. Peter to that of St. Paul. It is in fact a mosaic of phrases describing the movements of St. Paul" (p. 83). He believes, of course, "that this, like other Bezan glosses, came from the Syriac." And then he appends "a literal translation of the Syriac Vulgate of those passages which, as it seems to me, the *glossator* used, leaving it to the student to compare the Greek in each case." The passages referred to are rather numerous, and certainly not all conclusive. We can indicate only a few of them. (1) In Rom. i. 13, St. Paul says that he has "often" (*πολλάκις*) been desirous of going to Rome. Now the Greek *πολλάκις* here would not account for the Bezan *διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου*. But the Peshitto has the phrase *zabvin sagiyin*, which might well be retranslated *ἐξ* (or *διὰ*) *ἱκανοῦ χρόνου* (Cf. Luke viii. 27, xxviii. 8, where *men zabno sagiyo* represents *ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανων* and *ἐξ ἱκανοῦ* respectively).† The desire of St. Paul to go to Jerusalem is suppressed in Acts xix. 21. (2) The clause "he comforted them holding much discourse and teaching them through the countries," might be derived from Acts xx. 2, "and when he (Paul) had gone round these places (*μέρη*) and comforted them with much discourse," and from xv. 32, "and with much discourse they (Paul and Barnabas) strengthened the brethren." Here, however, it must be admitted that the Greek text gives as good a basis for the gloss as the Peshitto, for the passages contain the expressions *πολὺς λόγος* and *ἐστήριξε*. It is just possible, however, that *χωρῶν* is a retranslation of the Syriac *atroto*, which in the Peshitto represents *μέρη* (xx. 2).

We next take a case from the very beginning of *Acts*.

* *Apropos* of this gloss I may quote a characteristic passage from Mr. Chase. "The old Syriac element in Codex E chiefly appears in the glosses which are adopted into the text. The Greek text in this MS. runs smoothly, and is not defaced by solecisms. The case of Codex D is wholly diverse. The disease of Syriacising, which in a mild form has attacked Codex E, has assailed Codex D with peculiar malignity; so violent are the paroxysms that at times the language of the Codex ceases to be coherent. Passage after passage becomes a chaos. These wild utterances are indeed invaluable when they are used as a guide to a right diagnosis of the disease. They show unmistakably in what company the Codex has been and from what country the disease has come. But they are also a measure of its extreme severity" (p. 134).

† The Philoxenian gloss has *b'gad zabno d'lo z'ur*, "a tempore non modico," which does not help us. It only reveals the effort to translate *ἱκανοῦ* more literally.

i. z: D. adds "and He commanded them to preach the gospel." This is one of the instances selected by Mr. Harris to throw the dependence of the Bezan Greek on its companion Latin text. The Latin gloss "præcepit prædicare evangelium" explains the words "præcepit Apostolis" which have occurred just before. But whereas the Latin repeats the same verb, the Greek uses two distinct verbs ἐντειλάμενος . . . ἐκέλευσε. Hence, he thinks, the Latin must be the original. But (1) the Syriac gloss in the margin of the Philoxenian also repeats the same verb which has previously occurred in the text; "kad p'qad . . . vaph'qad," so that Mr. Harris's argument proves just nothing as against Mr. Chase's view.* (2) Moreover, there is tolerably clear evidence that the Greek text of Bezan is *not* here dependent on its companion Latin, but *vice versa*. For the familiar Greek construction ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνελήμφθῃ is barbarously rendered in d. "in eum diem quem (!) susceptus est." (3) But if the Greek gloss did not originate from the Latin, then the Latin must have been derived from the Greek (as every one but Mr. Harris has supposed) and the source of the Greek gloss is still to be sought. It seems to be an importation from Mark xvi. 15, 19, 20, where our Lord's command "to preach the gospel" is made much of. But again the gloss does not reproduce the words of the Greek text of Mark xvi. When, however, we find that the Curetonian Syriac of St. Mark has rendered μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι by *men botar daphqad* (μετὰ τὸ κελεύσαι) the ἐκέλευσε of the gloss seems to be accounted for. In this case it will be observed that Mr. Chase is able to refer to a piece of the old Syriac version which has actually survived. But it might have been well to mention the "kad p'qad . . . vaphqad" of the Philoxenian margin.

We will now take a case in which Mr. Harris and Mr. Chase appear to us to be alike at fault.

v. 39: *discedite ergo ab hominibus istis*. These words are simply a resumptive repetition, after an intruded gloss ("nec vos nec imperatores nec reges"), of words occurring in the current text of v. 38 ("discedite ab hominibus istis"). But it is only in the Latin that the words are exactly repeated. D. has ἀποστήτε in v. 38, but ἀπέχεσθε in v. 39. Hence Mr. Harris concludes (p. 156) "the gloss is then a Latin one . . . its Greek is merely a retranslation." But even supposing that this must have been a verbal repetition in the original form of the gloss, the facts of the case prove only that the Latin may or might have been the original, not that it must have been. Mr. Chase writes, "the reason why the Bezan scribe wrote ἀπέχεσθε not ἀποστήτε (v. 38) is that he is translating a Syriac gloss." Again, it may be so; but why has not Mr. Chase given us the actual form of the Syriac gloss as it is found in the Philoxenian, where *archeq(u)* in v. 38 and *archeq(u) l'eun* in v. 39 would

* For either the two Greek verbs have been rendered by a single Syriac verb (*ph'qad*), and therefore might just as well have been both translated by the Latin *præcepit*, or else the repeated *ph'qad* of the Philoxenian has preserved an older Syriac form of the gloss.

account alike for the difference between the Greek verbs and for the verbal repetition in the Latin? It is, however, a pure assumption that the original glossator would have used a verbal repetition here. He might just as well have sought to avoid betraying himself by throwing the resumptive clause into a slightly different form. In this case the verbal parallelism would be due to the translator of the gloss, and not to the original glossator. If Mr. Harris will consult the Philoxenian Syriac here he will find *archeq(u)* in v. 38 and *archeq(u) l'eun* in v. 39. Yet he would no doubt agree with other scholars in believing the Philoxenian gloss to be a translation from the Greek. But if a Syriac translator could render the two Greek verbs by the *aphel* form of *r'chaq*, why should not a Latin translator have rendered them both by *discedite*? The true test, if any test can be found, of the origin of the gloss is probably to be looked for in the interpolated words *οὗτε ὑμεῖς οὗτε βασιλεῖς οὗτε τύραννοι* (D.) which can hardly have been derived from the Latin gloss "*nec vos nec imperatores nec reges*" (d.). Mr. Chase's argument here is very ingenious if not quite conclusive. He notes in the first place that E. has the gloss in a simpler form *οὗτε ὑμεῖς οὗτε οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν* (e. "*nec vos nec magistratus vestri*"). This shorter gloss he takes to be the earlier, and he notes that a precisely similar opposition of *ὑμεῖς* and *οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν* occurs in the Bezan text of Acts iii. 17, where the T. R. has no *ὑμεῖς* before *ἐπράξατε*. For some reason which we confess ourselves quite unable to fathom he regards this opposition as a Syriasm. If this could be established he would undoubtedly have a good case, but we do not know that an emphatic *attun* is more characteristic of the Syriac than an emphatic *ὑμεῖς* of the Greek idiom. It is perhaps more to the point that in Mark xiii. 9, the Syriac versions (Curetonian and Peshitto) invert the order of the words *ἡγεμονόνων καὶ βασιλέων*, placing "kings" first. But again, as the Greek text of the parallel passage in Luke xxi. 12, places "kings" before "rulers," while both the Greek and the Syriac have "rulers" before "kings" in Matth. x. 18, it does not seem that any stress can be laid on the order "kings and rulers" as specially characteristic of the Syriac biblical usage.

Here, then, Mr. Chase has, I think, entirely failed to prove his point. In saying this, however, I do not wish to imply that the gloss in any way militates against Mr. Chase's hypothesis. Only it affords him no help towards its establishment. Our last example shall be one which Mr. Chase has not discussed, and where Mr. Harris seems to have committed once more the mistake of arguing *à posse ad esse*.

xiii. 12: D. has *ἐθαυμασεν . . . ἐκπλησσομένος* (d. *miratus est . . . stupens*) where T. R. has *ἐκπλησσομένος* alone. Mr. Harris charges this tautological reduplication to the *tumor Africanus* (p. 199), which rejoiced in such pleonasms, and brings forward the instance "with the view of confirming the reader's belief in the fundamental latinity of these glosses."

Unfortunately for his theory he quotes a similar instance from Matt. xix. 25, where, he says, the gloss has "found its way into the Curetonian Syriac." But how if it "found its way" not *into*, but *out of*, the Curetonian? Similar instances of pleonasm are not wanting in that version. *E.g.*, Luke ii. 48, *in dolore et tristitia* (T. R. ὀδυρόμενοι); ii. 52, *crecens . . . et proficiens* (T. R. προέκοπτε); xiii. 13, *et erecta est statura ejus*. The first two instances are supported indeed by D. d. and by old Latin sources, but in the third the Curetonian stands alone. The familiar Semitic construction of the infinitive absolute with a cognate finite verb is at least as closely related to ἐθαύμασεν . . . ἐκπλησσύμενος as any case of *tumor Africanus*.

The above instances are, I think, fairly representative. On the whole we are disposed to cast our vote for Mr. Chase's hypothesis, which I may add does not appear in any way to contradict Mr. Ramsay's explanation of certain of the Bezan glosses. There is no reason that we can see why a native of Western Syria should not exhibit that knowledge of Asia Minor and that comparative unfamiliarity with Europe which Mr. Ramsay postulates for the chief *glossator*.

I do not, indeed, find myself able to follow Mr. Chase's reasoning in all of the very numerous passages which are discussed at great length in his learned volume. It is just possible that he may have somewhat injured his cause, which, we believe, to be substantially the cause of truth, by occasionally seeking to *prove* the Syriac origin of a particular Bezan reading in cases where nothing that deserves to be called a proof is forthcoming. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to admire the thoroughness and the perseverance with which he has submitted to discussion, not merely a few selected passages which might seem to make his case, but as far as possible every variant which is not of a merely trifling nature. His book is addressed not to the general public but to scholars, and we shall be much surprised if twenty years hence the learned world does not recognise that it was Mr. Chase—stimulated to the effort, as he himself admits, by Mr. Harris's monograph—who discovered the key to the Bezan problem, at least so far as it concerns the Acts of the Apostles.

"A lame and impotent conclusion!" we fancy we hear some of our readers saying. "Suppose that the 'Bezan Glosses' are derived from a Syriac origin, what of it? Of what possible interest can such an out of the way piece of information be to

any one but a faddist?" Nevertheless, *pace* the disappointed and possibly impatient reader, I agree with Mr. Chase when he says (p. 12): "I believe that I am justified in claiming for my results that they are of far-reaching importance. The light which they throw on many problems is, I believe, as clear as it is valuable." We will illustrate this remark with reference to *one* problem, the importance or at least the interest of which will, we think, be acknowledged on all hands, viz., that of the place and date of origin of the old Latin version of the New Testament. If the old Latin version of Acts is in some way dependent on the old Syriac, which is the conclusion to which Mr. Chase's researches seem to point, there is at least a presumption in favour of a similar relation between the old Latin and the old Syriac versions of the Gospels. And if it can be shown, as we believe it can, that the old Syriac Gospels rest in their turn on the Diatessaron of Tatian; then it becomes possible to fix within a few years the date of the first Latin translation of at least a considerable portion of the New Testament. That such a translation was current in Tertullian's time can, we think, hardly be doubted. Yet there are serious grounds for thinking that in his day it had not attained that degree of authority which it possessed in the time of St. Cyprian. This agrees well with the hypothesis which would assign to the old Syriac version a date not far removed from A.D. 170 (*i.e.*, from ten to twenty years after the composition of the Diatessaron), and to the old Latin a date between A.D. 170 and 190. This conclusion, which is partly ours and partly Mr. Chase's, we must supplement by the fruitful suggestion put forward by him, or rather by an anonymous writer whom he quotes, "that the Latin version itself may have been made in Syria, and we will say boldly at Antioch" (p. 143). No other date or place of origin will, I believe, be found to account for the many-sided phenomena presented by the so-called (and unfortunately so-called) "Western Text" of the New Testament. The grounds for this conclusion cannot be here set forth; but the time is, we hope, not far distant when the term "Western" will, for the future, give place to the term "Syro-Latin," the only one which truly represents, in our opinion, the facts of the case.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

POSTSCRIPT.—The foregoing article was already in the printer's hands before I had an opportunity of consulting Mr. Rendel Harris's "Four Lectures on the Western Text," published a few weeks since. Mr. Harris has brought fresh evidence to bear on the subject from two independent quarters. (1) In the course of last year the Mechitarist Fathers of St. Lazzaro at Venice, published a Latin translation of the Armenian version of St. Ephrem's commentary on the Pauline Epistles. This commentary contains several quotations from and allusions to the Acts, and the significant fact is that more than one of these quotations or allusions imply an early Syriac text of the Acts which contained the same glosses (in the places in question) as the Bezan text. (2) Although St. Ephrem's commentary on the Acts has perished, some fragments of it have been preserved in an American *catena*, and these fragments have been translated for the purpose of Mr. Harris's lectures by Mr. F. C. Conybeare. The evidence derived from these fragments is to the same effect as that of the Commentary on the Pauline Epistles. They exhibit an expanded or unabridged old Syriac text of the Acts closely akin to the text of *Codex Bezae*. It is with a generous appreciation of Mr. Chase's investigations that Mr. Harris writes:

From two separate lines of inquiry, therefore, we have discussed the question of the existence of an old Syriac text of the Acts [a text, moreover, closely resembling the Bezan], and have removed Mr. Chase's hypothesis into the region of fact. . . . We can only most cordially congratulate Mr. Chase on the complete and thorough verification of the assumption with which he commences his investigation into the peculiarities of the Western text. It is not often that a speculation is so rapidly justified from unexpected quarters. ("Lectures," p. 33.)

But to establish the existence of an Old Syriac text of Acts and its alliance with *Codex Bezae* and its congeners, is by no means the same thing as to establish the Syriac origin of the Bezan glosses; and here Mr. Harris and Mr. Chase once more part company. Or to speak more correctly, Mr. Harris shows himself inclined to accept in part Mr. Chase's conclusions, while he is at great pains to show that many, if not most, of the arguments by which those conclusions have been reached are strangely wide of the mark.

ART. III.—RINGS.

RINGS seem to have been known at a very early period: we find them in Celtic burial mounds; they were common in Egypt ages before Jacob settled there, the early literature of the Jews alludes to them, and they are frequently mentioned by Greek writers. They seem in all cases, so far as we have any means of judging, to have been at first a distinguishing mark of the wealthy and noble, and then, by a process of natural growth, to have become common to all classes of the community.

Rings were used as types of, and held symbolically to represent, eternity, because they have neither beginning nor end; this was especially so amongst the Hindoos, Persians and Egyptians.

The Egyptian priests in the temple of Phtha (the Vulcan of the Greeks), when they wished to represent the year, chose a serpent with its tail in its mouth in the form of a ring, and we find that these serpent-rings are known amongst other peoples. There are some fine specimens of Egyptian rings in this country; one of the most remarkable of them is that which belonged to Amunoph III., who is said to have exercised royal supremacy from B.C. 1403 to B.C. 1367, and who is believed by some scholars to be the same individual as the Greek Memnon. This ring is of bronze, and has the name Amunoph engraved upon it; it was at one period in the Londesborough collection, but I do not now know where it is. So common was the custom of wearing rings amongst the Egyptians that we find, comparatively speaking, large quantities of them in their tombs; they are formed of various substances of little value, such as porcelain and ivory, and there are instances of carnelian rings being found near the Pyramids; they were often engraved with gods and various other emblems of a more or less sacred character. From all we can discover it seems certain that nearly every member of the community wore rings of some kind or other, and there is, or was until a few years ago, a mummy case to be seen in the British Museum, of a woman whose left hand has no less than nine rings upon it.

We know that the Jews wore rings at a very early date; they are spoken of several times in the Old Testament, and once in connection with Egypt, when we are told that Pharaoh invested Joseph with the ring off his own hand, so that all men might thereby recognise that whatsoever he did was done by the direct authority of the king.

But though rings seem to have been common in Egypt they did not, so far as we can now tell, equal the quantity that must have been worn by the Romans. Martial speaks of a man named Charinus who wore, so he would have us believe, no less than sixty rings daily. Seno Charinus omnibus digitis gerit.* They have been discovered in the burial urns both of the Greeks and of the Romans; but the opinion has been held by some writers that in the case of those discovered in Roman places of burial, they had been secretly placed there by the friends of the departed, because it was contrary to the Roman law to inter gold with a deceased person.†

The most simple form of Roman rings, and the one which lasted longest, is exemplified by one which is said to have been found in the Roman camp at Silchester; it is of gold, massively made, and the stone, which is carnelian, has a woman's figure on it: she is holding fruit and corn; it may be meant for a representation of Ceres, but this it is impossible to say with certainty. Mr. Fairholt mentions this ring.‡ Roman and Greek rings have very often merely a name or greeting; usually these greetings or mottoes are longer upon the latter than the former. Julius Cæsar wore a ring with a figure of Venus upon it. We are told that three bushels of rings were collected from amidst the spoil after the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal at Cannæ. The Romans are said in times of grief and sorrow to have laid aside their more costly rings of gold and precious stones and to have replaced them by iron ones. They have never been equalled in the cutting of stones and gems as intaglios, and so well was this understood all through the Middle Ages, that it was a common thing to reset Roman gems and put a modern inscription either on the stone itself or engraved on the setting.

* "Proc. Soc. Ant.," 2 S. I. 277.

† "Chambers's Repository (Curiosities of Burial)," pp. 18-19.

‡ "Rambles of an Archaeologist," 1871, pp. 84-85. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A.

A very good example of this occurs in the case of a ring said to have been found in 1845 at Sessa. The stone is jasper, cut as an intaglio; the device, two hands clasped; above the hands the letters C.C.P.S. and below them I.P.D.; most likely it has been a gift, and these are the initials of the giver and the receiver. The setting is gold, not earlier than the fourteenth century; the mediæval owner has had engraved round the gem, so as to form a legend for the seal,

+ SIGILLV. THOMASII. DE. ROGERIIS. DE. SVESSA.

The gold hoop of the ring is bevelled on each side, which admits of there being room for the following inscriptions upon it:

+ XPS. VINCIT. XPS. REGNAT. XPS. IMPERA.

+ ET. VERBU. CARO. FACTU : ET. ABITAVIT INOB.

Celtic rings have been found constantly in the grave mounds of Gaul, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, and Scotland; they are usually formed of pure gold wires plaited or twisted together: the number of strands vary much, rings having been found with as few as three strands and as many as eight. The gold being pure, is of course perfectly flexible, and can easily be twisted into any shape; these plaited Celtic rings are not very rare.

Anglo-Saxon rings are very interesting; sometimes they have a name upon them, but more often are found without it. One of the most historical of these that yet remain is in the British Museum; it belonged to the father of King Alfred the Great, Ethelwulf, king of Wessex, who reigned A.D. 836; his name is upon it; it was found at Laverstock in Hampshire. We know that at times the Anglo-Saxons used metals other than gold for their rings; a spiral one, formed of bronze, was discovered some years ago with a skeleton at Toddington, Bedfordshire, it consisted of rather less than two coils. There is a fine example of a Saxon ring in gold, found in Yorkshire in 1735, now to be seen in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen. Bishops wore rings from a very early period; they varied considerably at different times; they seem to have generally been formed of gold, but instances are known of other metals being used. There was a bishop's ring in the Londesborough collection which was made of copper and then gilded—it is set with a ruby.

During some repairs to the choir of Hereford Cathedral in 1843, the carved alabaster tomb of Bishop Stanbury* was moved; in it was found a massive gold ring set with a fine sapphire; the sides of this ring are very ornamental, being of dark enamel decorated with sprays of flowers; inside the ring is the motto, in black letter, "en bon an."†

A very early specimen of a bishop's ring was in the collection of Mr. Edmund Waterton, and was by him exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1860; it had previously been exhibited before the same society in 1773. It is believed to have belonged to one Alhastan, who is said to have been Bishop of Sherborn from A.D. 823 to 867. It is composed of gold inlaid with niello, and is inscribed ALHSTAN, the final letter being, however, a rune; it was found at Lloyd-faen.

There is a bishop's ring in the custody of the deans of Winchester that was found during some alterations or repairs under the tomb of William Rufus, and is thought to have been the pontifical ring of that well-known prelate, Henry of Bloise.‡ It is massively formed, of solid gold, set with a large sapphire, which is not cut but merely polished, and which is held in its socket by three fleur-de-lys; and there is a hole drilled through the centre of the gem to admit of a gold wire being passed through it, in order still further to secure it in the setting. There seems to have been no idea in those days that by doing this the stone would become less valuable; it was by no means an uncommon thing to treat them so at this date and for long afterwards.

There are two very interesting rings kept in the sacristy at York Minster. They were discovered in the tombs of Archbishops Sewall§ and Grenefeld,|| and have been described and engraved by Fairholt.¶ In the fourteenth century bishops often wore their rings outside their gloves, and in some cases

* John Stanbury, bishop of Bangor, translated to Hereford, February 1452, died May 1474.

† "Rambles of an Archaeologist," 109. F. W. Fairholt.

‡ Brother to King Stephen, elected Bishop of Winchester A.D. 1129. The exact time of his death is uncertain, but nearly all the chronicles place it in 1171. Le Neve (Hardy), "Fasti. Eccl. Anglic.," iii. 7.

§ Sewall de Bovill, Dean of York, was consecrated Archbishop 1256, died 1258.

|| William de Grenefeld, Dean of Chichester, Chancellor of England, consecrated Archbishop of York January 1305-6, died 1315.

¶ "Rambles of an Archaeologist," p. 106.

the episcopal ring was a thumb ring; these two circumstances may perhaps account for the fact of the large size of many of the rings. The stones most commonly used in such rings were ruby, emerald, sapphire, and crystal; the ruby was supposed to be emblematic of the glory of the Church, the emerald of its tranquillity, the sapphire of its hope, and the crystal of its simplicity and pureness. All gems and stones were held to be typical of some virtue: the diamond signified faith, the amethyst humility, the onyx sincerity.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1848 is engraved a brass ring, very thickly gilded, the hoop charged with the arms of Pope Pius II.* It has on it the cross keys and the tiara, between them *Papa Pio*. It is set with a large topaz; the sides of the ring have the beasts of the Revelation on them in high relief. This ring was included in the Waterton collection.

There are some rings which have attained great celebrity in the history of England. S. Edward the Confessor is said to have given one that he always wore to the Abbot of Westminster, either just before his death or during his last illness. The legend is that this ring was one day brought to him by a pilgrim, who averred that S. John the Evangelist had sent him to declare to the king that his death was not far distant. "S. Edward's Ring," as it was called, was kept for a long time at Westminster Abbey. Being regarded as a relic of the saint, it was used to cure falling sickness (epilepsy) and also for cramp. It is believed by some authorities that from these circumstances arose the custom of the kings of England blessing and distributing cramp rings. The sovereigns were believed to have had transmitted to them S. Edward's power of curing or of mitigating these diseases. So far as we can now discover, the rings seem to have been blessed for two distinct things: falling sickness (*comitialis morbus*) and cramp (*contracta membra*).†

Good Friday was the day set apart for the ceremony. The rings were fashioned out of both gold and silver. The household books of Henry IV. and Edward IV. tell us that the metal

* The celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, born in Tuscany 1405, chosen Pope in 1458, died at Ancona 1464. He was one of the most learned men in that learned age, and the author of several well-known works.

† *Notes and Queries*, 1 S. VII. 88.

from out of which they were formed was the king's offering to the Cross upon that holy day. The following entry occurs in the seventh and eighth of Henry IV. (1406): "In oblationibus Domini Regis factis adorando Crucem in cappella infra manerium suum de Eltham, die Parasceive, in precio trium nobilium auri et v solidorum sterlynge xxvs."

These rings were used until the Reformation, when the belief in their virtue, if it did not die out, was prevented from openly expressing itself.

Borde,* in his "Breviarie of Health," 1547, tells us, speaking of the cure for cramp: "The kynge's majestie hath a great helpe in this matter, in halowing crampe ringes and so given without money or petition."

Cardinal Wiseman exhibited a very interesting MS. before the Royal Archæological Institute in June 1851. It contains the ceremony for the blessing of these cramp rings; there can be but little doubt that it belonged to Philip and Mary, for their arms are blazoned at the beginning. The description of the ceremony is thus headed: "Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heignes in the consecration of the cramp rynges." Within the volume is an illumination which depicts the queen kneeling; and on each side of her a dish containing the rings.

Perhaps the most interesting historical ring that yet remains is the one that was found at Fotheringay, and which there can be but little doubt was lost by Mary Stuart whilst a captive there. It is of gold; on the bezel are MH, with a true lover's knot uniting them. Within the ring is the inscription: "HENRI. L. DARNLEY. 1565.," and a shield which is charged by a lion rampant, ensigned by a coronet. The late Mr. Edmund Waterton, in whose collection this ring was, says, "As there is no double treasure, the arms are probably those of the Dukes of Albany."†

The marriage of Mary and Darnley took place on July 29, 1565, and most likely this ring was a gift of the queen to her lover, but whether before or after the marriage we have no means of knowing. But, whether before his death or after-

* Andrew Borde, a Carthusian, but having studied medicine became physician to Henry VIII. He wrote, among other things, "Pryncples of Astronamy," "Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge."

† "Proc. Soc. Ant.," 2 S. I. 278.

wards, it is evident that the ring was in Mary's possession at the time when she took refuge in England, only to find herself a lifelong prisoner.

A ring, said to be the one given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex, and which she expected to receive again from him after his condemnation, but which the Countess of Nottingham kept back, was about twenty years ago in the possession of the Rev. Lord John Thynne. It is a beautiful specimen of the jeweller's art, the gold setting being of very delicate workmanship; but the most interesting thing about it is that the onyx with which it is set is cut as a cameo into a likeness of the Queen; the resemblance is most wonderful, though of course the portrait is only a very minute one. At the back of the onyx, in the inside of the ring, are blue enamel decorations, and the outside of the ring is engraved with floriated ornaments. Whether this ring be really the one given by Elizabeth to Essex we shall never know, but that it is of that date is certain, and its superior workmanship suggests the idea that it may possibly have been made by the celebrated Italian Valerio Vincentino; we know that he spent some time in England, working for the Queen and other people. It was at this date a common thing to leave memorial rings by will, or the money to buy them with. This practice has never quite died out, although it is much less common than it used to be. Some of these mourning rings were in the form of a death's-head, more especially at the latter end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the following century. Luther wore a gold ring of this description that is now preserved at Dresden; it had on it a small death's-head in enamel; round the setting were engraved the words, "Oh mors, ero mors tua."

Shakespeare left money by bequest to five friends for them each to buy a memorial ring with.

Charles II. wore in memory of his father one which had for a motto:

Char - Rex
Rem - obiit - ber
30 Jan. 1648.

And many of those who had fought for the king wore rings with the head of the "Blessed Martyr" on them. Some of these were made so as to conceal the portrait behind a stone or

gem. A good example of this was to be seen in the Londerborough collection—a table cut diamond set in an oval rim, opening by means of a spring showed underneath it a portrait of the king. It is said that only seven memorial rings were given away at the funeral of Charles I., but I do not know the authority for this statement.

Horace Walpole had one at Strawberry Hill, said to be one of the seven ; it had on it the King's head and a death's-head ; between the letters C. R. was the motto "Prepared to follow me." No doubt many of the Cavaliers would have memorial rings made at their own expense with mottoes, and perhaps portraits also ; the tragedy would make them doubly anxious to have something that could be regarded in the light of a relic of the master, who, whatever his faults and shortcomings were, had inherited to the full the Stuart gift of being able to attach people to him and his cause. The custom of distributing memorial rings is not confined to England alone ; on the death of the Emperor Nicholas of Russia black enamelled rings, made in the form of a snake, were given away ; fastened to the head and within the body of the ring is a narrow band of metal, with the name of the Emperor and the date of his death on it ; the band is held in its place in the same manner that a spring measuring tape is ; the snake has diamond eyes.

Thumb rings must have been very inconvenient, but they have been worn at various times. Chaucer mentions them ; we are told, in "The Squieres Tale," how a knight rode into the hall where Cambuscan was sitting in state—

Ther came a knight upon a stede of bras,
And in his hond a brod mirroure of glas ;
Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring.

There is mention made of this custom by Brome* in "The Northern Lass" : "A good man in the city wears nothing rich about him, but the gout or a thumb ring." A silver thumb ring was discovered in the parish of Surfleet, Lincolnshire, in 1857, with the initials H. B., and two merchants' marks on it. I do not know what became of this ring.

From a very early period, most likely always, rings have been

* Richard Brome. This dramatist was originally a servant of Ben Jonson. Died 1632.

worn as charms; amethysts set in them were supposed to prevent drunkenness, crystal clouded if harm came near the wearer, amber was valuable against poison, turquoises turned pale when danger came nigh their owner; but of all gems and stones, toadstone was considered as the most valuable of safeguards to wear in a ring. It is trap-rock, the colour varies to some extent, but is usually a dull opaque or semi-opaque brown, very ugly; this stone was believed to have the power of giving warning of the presence of poison by changing its colour; and if poison had been swallowed it was of sovereign value if pounded up and taken. The most valuable form in which the stone could be worn was to have it set in a ring and a toad carved upon it; it was supposed to have come out of the head of toads. Fenton,* writing in 1569, says: "There is found in the heads of old and great toads, a stone which they call borax or stelon." It was considered very difficult to obtain, for the toad "envieth so much that man should have that stone."† That there were spurious toadstones passed off as the real thing is shown by the following directions for ascertaining their genuineness: "Holde the stone before a toad, so that he may see it, and if it be a right and true stone, the toad will leap towards it and make as though he would snatch it from you."‡

It appears from what we can make out upon the subject, that a stone obtained from a living toad was considered more powerful than if the animal was killed to get it. The proper receipt for carrying out this apparently difficult feat is more simple than would have been supposed, and it consists in merely putting the toad on a piece of scarlet cloth, "where-withal they are much delighted so that while they stretch out themselves upon that cloth they cast out the stone of their head but instant they sup it up again unless it be taken from them through some secret hole in the same cloth.§

It is to be feared that many people have found themselves in the same position as did Boethius, who relates how he laid a toad on a piece of red cloth, and then sat up all night

* Edward Fenton, "Certaine secrete Wonders of Nature." London, 1569.

† Thomas Lupton, "A Thousand Notable Things." London, 1586.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Masarius. Quoted from "Rambles of an Archæologist," p. 117. F. W. Fairholt.

watching to see the stone cast out of its head, but the toad did not give him this satisfaction. There was a fine example of a toadstone ring with a toad carved upon the stone, in the Londesborough collection.

The hoof of the ass was supposed to possess great talismanic virtue, and in the Waterton collection was a ring formed from the hoof of some animal, most probably an ass; it was banded with silver, and set with a toadstone; the combination of two such things possessing each of them talismanic virtues in so high a degree would doubtless unite in forming a ring of very great power. Its date is supposed to be sixteenth century. The belief in the power and efficacy of toadstone lasted until very recent times; Joanna Baillie, writing to Sir Walter Scott in 1812, says: "A toadstone, a celebrated amulet, which was never lent to any one unless upon a bond for a thousand merks* for its being safely restored. It was sovereign for protecting newborn children and their mothers from the power of the fairies, and has been repeatedly borrowed from my mother for this purpose."

A writer in *Notes and Queries*† speaks of a toadstone ring in his possession. "It is a convex circular stone, eleven sixteenths of an inch in diameter, semi-transparent and of dark grey colour. . . . It is set in a massive silver thumb ring of great antiquity, and has been in the possession of my family for many generations."

Shakespeare alludes to the belief in the magical and medicinal properties of the toadstone when he says—

Like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Yet wears a precious jewel in his head.‡

Ben Jonson says—

His saffron jewel, with the toadstone in't.§

Rings inscribed with the names of the Magi were popularly supposed to ward off disease, accidents, and sudden death. As might naturally be supposed, Cologne was a great centre

* The value of the merk or mark was thirteen pence and one-third of a penny sterling.

† 4 Series, VII. 399.

‡ "As you like it," act 2, sc. i.

§ "The Fox," act 2, sc. iii.

for their sale; many of them were silver and had, in addition to the names of the "Three Kings of Cologne," "Ave Maria, gratiæ plena," outside them.

In the collection of works of art and antiquities exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall in 1861, was a silver charm ring inscribed in black letter with the names of the three Wise Men, between each name a tiny rose; this ring was found at Great Yarmouth, and is considered to be of the fifteenth century.

A writer in *Notes and Queries* describes a very fine specimen of a ring of this kind that was found in Surrey. It is a simple band of gold, having on the outside the Passion and crosses in white enamel; and the following inscription in black letter:

the well of pitty,
the well of merci,
the well of comfort,
the well of gracy,
the well of ewerlastingh lyffe.

Inside the inscription is remarkably interesting—

+ vulnera = quinq̃ = dei = sunt = medicina = mei pia
+ crux = et = passio = xpi = sunt = medicina = michi = jasper =
+ melchior = baltasar = ananzapta = letgram = mator.

It is said that the "wells" are the wounds on the hands, feet, and side of Our Lord.

In Pugin's "Glossary Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume" (Plate 63) there is a representation of these wells to be seen, and further on (Plate 65) another version of them is given, in which the blood from these wells or fountains is flowing into chalices. Sir Edward Shaw, goldsmith, and Alderman of London, directed by his will in 1484 that there should be made "16 ringes of fyne gold to be graven with the well of pitie, the well of mercy, and the well of everlasting life."* In the Waterton collection was an exceedingly curious ring of fifteenth-century date, made of horn and silver plaited together and inscribed—JASPAR. MELCHOIR. BALTHASAR; it was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1864. Many very interesting rings have been exhibited before this Society, one in 1849 that was found amongst the ruins of the Priory of Frithelstoke, Devon. It is a gold ring of the time of Edward

* *Notes and Queries*, 4 S. X. 438.

IV. or Henry VII., and on one side is a representation of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child, and on the other the Martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury. No doubt there may be other specimens of rings yet remaining with the martyrdom of Beckett on them, but they must be very rare. I do not at this moment call one to mind. Representations of Our Lady with her Son are often to be met with upon rings; a gold one was found at Whitechurch, Salop, with the Trinity on it: the Father seated, between His knees the Crucified Son, and the Dove hovering over the left shoulder of the seated figure; round the circle a band with the motto—*EN BONE FOY*.

In 1780 an interesting gold ring was found by the sexton in the churchyard at Southwell whilst he was digging a grave; cut very deeply in the inner side of the ring is—

+ MI + MOVRI + QUE + CHANGE + MA + FOY +

The cross at the beginning is the same size as the letters, while those between the words are very small. There are mediæval rings found with the hoop ornamented by round or semi-round knobs or bosses; they have usually ten or eleven of these decorations, and have been considered and called Rosary, or decade rings. There was one exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Waterton in 1860; on the bezel are the figures of S. Barbara and S. Christopher, and within, in black letter—a. ma. vye. The striking thing about this ring is that it has thirteen of these bosses. There does not seem to be any reason, so far as we know, why S. Christopher and S. Barbara should be placed together; but amongst the many legends relating to the former Saint is one which says that no one who has gazed upon a representation of the Saint will die during the same day; thus a person with such a ring might gaze upon it every day. Most likely Barbara was the name of the owner of the ring. No doubt it was to a ring of this kind that John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds alludes when he, in 1463, describes in his will "a ryng of gold with bolyonys.*"

The late Mr. Edmund Waterton, who probably knew more about rings than any one else of his day, and who had the finest collection of them ever brought together in private hands, said that he had seen but one ring with the names of the four Evan-

* Bury, "Wills and Inventories" (Camden Soc.), p. 36.
[No. 11 of *Fourth Series*.]

gelists on it—it was in his possession—a plain gold hoop of the fourteenth century, within it AVE MARIA GRA PLENA DNS. and on the outside ✠ MARCVS, LVCS. MATEVS. IOHES. Perhaps the most well-known ring in the world is the “Ring of the Fisherman,” the signet used for signing certain briefs issued from the Papal Court. This ring is formed of steel, and a new one is made for each succeeding Pope; the old one having been defaced as soon as the late Pope is dead and the authority passed into the College of Cardinals. The seal represents S. Peter sitting in a boat letting down nets into the sea for fish; he uses both hands, and is depicted letting a net down on each side the boat; the forms of both boat and saint show how very old the design must be. Above the head is inscribed “Leo XIII. Pont. Max.”

Serjeants-at-law on being sworn in presented rings to many official personages, and also to the sovereign; these rings had each a motto on them, not the family or personal motto of the new serjeant, but one chosen by him for the occasion. The ring presented to the sovereign was usually larger than the others and was enamelled.

The earliest recorded one is that of Sir J. Fineux in 1485, “*Suæ quisque fortunæ faber*”; the next that of Serjeant, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, Montague in 1531, “*Æquitas justitiæ norma*.”* At times it was the custom for all serjeants created at one time to use the same motto; thus when fourteen were created in 1660 the motto used by them all was a chronogram alluding to the Restoration—“*aDest CaroLVs magnVs.*”†

There is an interesting allusion to this custom in the “Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission,” p. 383: “30 April, 1692. This day were installed the call of new serjeants, and Sir J. Hoby made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the formality of walking was dispensed with, by reason of the exceeding wet weather, they being carried in coaches. The motto for their rings is ‘*Lex arma.*’”

There is a curious custom at Lincoln that, I believe, is still in existence. The mayor, once during his year of office, sends his official ring to the principal schools, and it is a breach of etiquette if the pupils have not a holiday given them. This

* *Notes and Queries*, 6 S. X. 30.

† *Ibid.*, 132.

somewhat resembles the use at Winchester, where the head boy (Prefect of Hall), if he had successfully begged a holiday (remedy) from the head-master, received a gold ring (the remedy ring), which he returned in school to the master upon the following day.

Poesy rings are perhaps the most interesting form that rings have ever assumed ; but without devoting an entire paper to them it would be impossible to give more than the barest outline of the subject. There are nearly a thousand "poesies" known of, some of them mere doggerel, some very beautiful. They were common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and are known of much earlier. They are usually found inside wedding rings, but are to be seen on others also, as people often had them engraved upon rings which they gave to friends. One of the commonest is—

In thee my choyce
I do rejoyce.

John Danton, the noted bookseller and publisher, was born in 1659 and died in 1733. On his wife's wedding ring was a well-known and frequently used poesy—

God saw thee
Most fit for me.

A very beautiful and far less known one is—

I seek to be
Not thine, but thee.

It is to be found in an old common-place book of the seventeenth century in the library at Sion College, amongst a list of poesies.

A curious feature in some of these wedding-ring poesies is that they appear to regard death as an eternal separation, and to imply that after the death of the husband or wife no more faith was to be expected. The following is an instance of this, and is very often found on rings—

Keepe faith till death.

Then there is the well-known one—

Till death us part
Thou hast my heart,

which seems to teach much the same doctrine. A great contrast to these is the following beautiful motto—

This and the giver
Are thine for ever,

which is, perhaps, taking it all in all, the most perfect example of expressing much in few words that ring-lore can show.

A very curious poesy is on an enamelled gold ring found in the river at Norwich. To the best of my belief it does not exist elsewhere, and was no doubt composed expressly for this ring—

Valued may greater B
Love
(Love undervalued may greater be.)

Henry VIII. gave a ring to Anne of Cleves with "God send me well to keep" upon it, a somewhat curious motto for him to have chosen.

A large gold ring was found at Terling, Essex, on which was engraved—

Where hearts agree
There God will be.

And in digging a drain at Iffley, Oxfordshire, one was turned up with the soil, having on it—

I lyke my choice.

Some mottoes are in Latin, following the fashion of Chaucer's "Prioress," who had graven on her bracelet—

Amor vincit omnia.

The writer has seen a modern ring made of silver with a coat of arms on it for sealing letters, and inside it—

More faithful than fortunate.

This saddest of all mottoes for rings is of very early date. Very beautiful are the words found on a ring evidently given to a friend—

Thy friend am I
And so will die.

One cannot help wondering whether the friendship was valued; possibly it was cast aside as little worth, a thing to

be forgotten and held of no account; but "many waters cannot quench love" and true friendship—they are eternal.

Much has been written as to the ancient forms and ceremonies used in placing the ring upon the finger during the marriage service. In the Hereford, York and Salisbury Missals the ring is directed to be put upon the first, second, third, and fourth fingers successively, where it is then to remain. Of course it must be understood that the thumb is here considered in the light of the first finger—"quia in illo digito est quidam vena procedens usque ad cor." The old belief was that a vein from the fourth finger ran more directly to the heart than from any of the others.

In Germany, Russia and Scandinavia betrothed couples exchange rings either beforehand or during the marriage ceremony. The ring was in early times given at the espousals, not during the wedding rites; it was used as an arrah* or earnest of a future marriage. The origin of the marriage ring as distinct from the betrothal one has been traced to the tenth century. One of the most interesting historical wedding rings that yet remain is Luther's. It is of gold, very massive, with the emblems of the Passion upon it, and also a representation of the crucifixion. A small ruby is set in the ring just above the Saviour's head inside the ring is inscribed: "D. Martino Luthero Catharin au Boren, 13 Juni, 1525." Gemil, or gemmel rings were common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; they were at first only the ordinary double ring, which can be closed so as to form but one, but afterwards three and even four rings were included in one, but they still retained the same name. There is a very curious kind of wedding ring in use in Madeira. It consists of a gold ring with two hands clasped; on pulling each hand the ring opens (each hand being in truth a separate ring), and then is seen a third ring, having two hearts side by side upon it. When the hands are closed the three rings are then one. There are many omens and superstitions connected with wedding rings. Some people consider it most unlucky if a wedding ring should be lost; if it breaks, it is regarded as a sure sign that either the husband or wife will soon die. A

* Pelliccia's "Polity of the Christian Church" (translated by Bellet first ed., 1833, p. 320.

great-great-grandmother of the writer's snapt her wedding ring by some mischance or other; her husband was a sailor and at the time the ring broke he was at sea; the ship was lost during that voyage and my great-great-grandfather drowned with most of his crew, and it was always believed that the breaking of the ring was sent as a warning of what was about to happen. But the superstitions and omens to be drawn from weddings are far too numerous to mention save in an article devoted to folklore.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. IV.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

WE have no sympathy with Professor Huxley's views on the sacred Scriptures. Still, it cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of force in what he says, in a recently-published volume of his essays, concerning the present attitude of many Christian apologists towards the writings of the Old Testament.

Apologetic effort, at present [he says],* appears to devote itself to the end of keeping the name of "Inspiration" to suggest the divine source, and consequent infallibility, of more or less of the Biblical literature, while carefully emptying the term of any definite sense. For "plenary inspiration" we are asked to substitute a sort of "inspiration with limited liability," the limit being susceptible of indefinite fluctuation in correspondence with the demands of scientific criticism. Where this advances that at once retreats. It is easy to say [he continues a few lines further on], and sounds plausible, that the Bible was not meant to teach anything but ethics and religion, and that its utterances on other matters are mere *obiter dicta*; it is also a specious suggestion that inspiration, filtering through human brains, must undergo a kind of fallibility contamination; and that this human impurity is responsible for any errors, the existence of which has to be admitted, however unwillingly.

The above passage, though somewhat exaggerated in tone, undoubtedly describes the position of the great majority of Christian apologists, outside the Catholic Church, on the matter of sacred Scripture. It is moreover true that of late years the aggressive attitude and wide prevalence of the "higher criticism" has led not a few Catholic writers to seek an explanation of the difficulties arising in the sacred text, from the more recent discoveries of science and archaeology, in a toning down or restriction of the full meaning of the term "Inspiration."

In a recent number of this REVIEW,† the writer has dealt with the attitude of Cardinal Newman and Professor Mivart on the subject. On the continent many publications have appeared from Catholic pens in a similar sense. Thus François Lenor-

* "Science and Hebrew Tradition," p. vii.

† July, 1893.

mant, a man who was in the front rank of archæologists, gave expression to some novel views a few years ago in his work, entitled, "Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible"; among other things laying down that inspiration was not inconsistent with the presence in Scripture of "traditions, formed spontaneously in the course of ages, common to the Hebrews with peoples who were without the assistance of any light, save such as is natural to man, and with peoples given over to the errors of polytheism."*

Lenormant's influence was deeply felt in France; and since his time more plain-spoken pronouncements, perhaps to some extent due to his example, have appeared from the French press. Salvatore di Bartolo, a Roman doctor of theology and canon law, recently published a book in Italian, which was translated into French by an Oratorian Father, treating, among other subjects, of Holy Scripture.† Nor was the book unfavourably received; on the contrary, there are printed therein letters of approbation from Cardinal Manning and others of high position in the Church. In this volume the author recognises different grades of inspiration, and lays down,‡ among other propositions, that "Inspiration is at its *minimum*, in matters of the extra-religious order, and that this *minimum* of inspiration does not guarantee the infallibility of the human agent."

Monseigneur d'Hulst, Rector of the Catholic University of Paris, has also recently published an able and interesting paper on "La Question Biblique,"§ in which, moved by the strides made within the last half century by Biblical science, he seems disposed to recede from the commonly received Catholic teaching on inspiration. He lays down that there are three schools of exegesis within the Church, "forming, so to say, in the army of Biblical defenders, a right wing, a left wing, and a centre."|| The right wing is composed of those who hold the ordinary doctrine of Catholics on sacred Scripture. The centre forms a kind of compromise between the two extremes. Those who make up the left wing hold indeed that the entire Bible is

* Preface, p. xvi.

† "Les Critères Théologiques," Paris, 1889.

‡ P. 254.

§ *Le Correspondant*, Jan. 25, 1893.

|| P. 23. We quote the article in pamphlet form.

inspired, and that inspiration "guarantees Scripture from all error in matters of faith and morals; but that the preservation from error extends no farther; it would therefore have the same limits as the infallibility of the Church" (p. 24). Though most of the article is taken up with an explanation and defence of the left wing, Mgr. d'Hulst himself seems to favour rather the policy of the centre.*

We shall allude only to one more Catholic writer, of views tending in the same direction. P. Savi, a Barnalite, wrote, in March of last year, a letter to *La Science Catholique*, upon the controversy arising out of Mgr. d'Hulst's article to the *Correspondant*. P. Savi writes in a very cautious way; still, the practical result of his principles seems to us the same as in the case of the other writers we have been noticing. Thus he writes† that "God has left a certain personal initiative to the sacred writer, in matters of fact, in such cases as do not enter into the special end he had in view." In such cases "Dieu n'a pas jugé à propos d'écarter de l'esprit des hagiographes les inexactitudes. Elles y sont restées et se sont réfléchies dans leurs écrits."

The instances we have adduced are sufficient to show that a more or less widely spread tendency has manifested itself of late, within the Church, to take a looser view of inspiration, to restrict its meaning, we might almost say, to combat the Higher Criticism, by ceding to it the field of battle.

Now, it would be the height of presumption on my part to censure the views of any theologian. Nor am I disposed to attempt any such proceeding. I recognise to the full the high and worthy motives which actuated the writers to whom we have referred; and I fully appreciate the difficulties which moved them to write as they did. At the same time, however, I cannot conceal from myself that the recent Encyclical of the Holy Father looks with more than disapproval upon such principles, and that after its publication, loyal Catholics will seek the settlement of Scripture perplexities upon other lines. To make this clear, I will quote a short passage

* Mgr. d'Hulst sent a letter to the Pope thanking him for, and expressing his cordial adhesion to, the Encyclical on Scripture, and was honoured by a Rescript from his Holiness.

† P. 296.

from the Encyclical, to show the teaching of the sovereign Pontiff on the subject of inspiration, referring the reader for further information to that document itself.

So far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it, as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true.*

Still, though I think, as apparently does M. Loisy,† that Catholic writers will not *now* endeavour to defend the sacred Scriptures, on the principles advocated by the authors to whom I have been referring, I must on the other hand make it quite clear that I have no sympathy with the position taken up by Mr. Gore, regarding the Encyclical, in a recent number of the *Guardian*.‡ As a matter of fact I entirely repudiate his interpretation of the Pope's teaching on inspiration; and his estimate of the authority which that document possesses for Catholics.

With regard to the authority of the recent papal letter, Mr. Gore writes: "Any one can see from reading the Encyclical that it is meant to be an *ex cathedra* pronouncement." Still, he tells us that "no doubt some reason may be found—has, in fact, been found—to declare the Encyclical not infallible"; and accordingly he magnanimously declares himself willing to waive the question of its *ex cathedra* character.

In reply to all this I may observe that no Catholic would deny the Pope's right to issue an infallible decree on the question of inspiration, or that such a pronouncement might take the form of an Encyclical. But we differ from Mr. Gore in thinking that the recent Encyclical was not intended to be an infallible utterance. The Pope no doubt lays down therein, in emphatic terms, the ordinary teaching of theologians respecting inspiration, but from that it does not follow that he wished to bind the faithful by an *ex cathedra* pronouncement. Had he intended to exercise his prerogative of infallibility, it is incredible that he would not have set that down as the primary object of the Encyclical, whereas we know his motive to have

* Authorised Translation, p. 26.

† Cf. *L'Enseignement Biblique*. Last no.

‡ April 11.

been "to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture, and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the day."* Moreover, the discursive and even rhetorical form and style of the Encyclical do not seem to us to indicate the intention of defining. Had the Pope wished to add anything to the decrees of Trent and the Vatican, we may be sure his language would have been unmistakable, precise and formal; nor should we have had Mr. Gore discovering that the doctrine of the Encyclical was nothing but "verbal inspiration," whilst an article writer in the *Spectator*† writes that "there he (Mr. Gore) is, we think, mistaken. Certainly no such assertion is made."

It seems hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of Mr. Gore's contention, that, though the Encyclical was intended to be an *ex cathedra* utterance, Catholics have already discovered a pretext for declaring it not infallible. The Papal letter was published on the 18th of November. Mr. Gore writes on the 11th of April. Meanwhile, Catholic theologians have studied the Encyclical, and declared it not to be an *ex cathedra* pronouncement. There is no concealment; the Holy Father knows what has been said; nor has anything happened to change his view of the situation. If he really intended the Encyclical to contain a formal definition of doctrine, he has only to say so, in order to bind the consciences of the faithful. Why then does he remain silent? Simply because Catholic theologians have correctly interpreted his intention.

Mr. Gore's opinion as to the teaching of the Encyclical regarding inspiration is contained in the two following passages:

It is nothing whatever but an assertion by the Pope of "verbal inspiration," as the indubitable doctrine of the Church. Naturally, therefore, he condemns unhesitatingly any limitation of inspiration, in the sense in which it involves infallibility, to the things of faith and morals, and (by implication) the accompanying recognition of grades of inspiration.

Again:

Nothing is to be allowed but such apologetics as can be based on the assumption that there are no discrepancies, even minute, between Kings and Chronicles, or one part of the Bible and another (when once the true

* Authorised Translation, p. 4.

† April 28.

text is ascertained), that alike the narrative of Genesis i.-xi., and that of Daniel, nay, those of Tobit and Judith, are in the strict sense historical, and that the Pentateuchal legislation, as put into the mouth of Moses, is all strictly Mosaic.

From these passages it will be seen that Mr. Gore considers the Encyclical to teach "verbal inspiration." Nay, more! He places the words in inverted commas, as if to show that he uses them in their strict technical sense. Had he studied the Encyclical more impartially, it certainly seems to us that he would have modified his conclusion. Even the strictest passages which it contains are susceptible of explanation, without having recourse to verbal inspiration; and, surely, in such a case we should act on the principle *in dubiis libertas*. But, that they are meant to be so interpreted, in accordance with the general teaching of theologians, who reject almost unanimously verbal inspiration, is clear from other passages in the letter, as, for instance, where we are told that the sacred writers described things "in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time" (p. 24); and again, that they "went by what sensibly appeared." Surely these passages are inconsistent with the doctrine that even word and phrase were supplied by the Holy Ghost.

But there is another passage which seems to have escaped Mr. Gore's notice. After dealing with the relation between physical science and Scripture, the Pope continues: "The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history." What is the meaning of these words? It is a well-known tenet of the higher critics, that in olden times men had a lower standard of accuracy in writing history than we have in these days. May we then say that the Pope wishes us to make allowance for this diversity in the interpretation of sacred Scripture? Certainly not. Such an explanation of the words would be out of harmony with the general tenor of the Encyclical. But still, the passage seems to me to mean, that, in dealing with the Old Testament, we ought to take into consideration the ordinary ideas about literary composition, prevalent in the days of the writers.

Thus, the Church finds no difficulty in the fact that the Book of Wisdom, though clearly not composed by Solomon, is written in the person of Solomon. Because it was a common

practice in those days to ascribe that class of literature to Solomon. It was a well-understood literary device. On the same principle some Catholics deny the Solomonian authorship of the Canticle and Ecclesiastes; and no one is disturbed to know, that a large proportion of the *Psalterium Davidicum* was not the work of David. That being so, and the principle being, as it seems to us, admitted in the Encyclical, how can it be rightly said that Catholics are now bound to hold all the Mosaic legislation to be "strictly Mosaic," because it is "put into the mouth of Moses." We reply to Mr. Gore that the matter remains precisely where it was before the publication of the Encyclical.

Neither has anything been settled as to the first eleven chapters of Genesis. It is still open to us—as it was to St. Thomas and the Fathers—to discuss, whether there is any, and if so, how much allegory in that portion of the Pentateuch. Nor have we any *new* obligation to hold that Tobit and Judith "are in the strict sense historical." The higher critics declare that Chronicles, Tobit, Judith and other books are instances of Jewish *Haggadah*, or idealised history; that is to say, that they are narratives, intended to convey some moral lesson, not strictly historical, but founded on history. That, in the abstract, such books might be present in the Bible, there is no reason to deny. Indeed, some Catholic writers maintain that neither Judith* nor Tobias† are strictly historical, in other words that they are Jewish *Haggadah*. Whatever be said on that matter, it is clear that the Encyclical does not affect the question one way or the other. If anything it recognises a principle favourable to the possibility of the *Haggadah* among the sacred books.

So much for Mr. Gore's criticism of the Papal Encyclical. From the remarks I have made on it, it will be evident that, though I do not think that the authors, to whom I referred some little way back, can *now* continue to defend the theories of inspiration which they were before disposed to favour, I am led to this conclusion, not because we hold the Encyclical to be an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, but because we look upon it as a weighty and important exhortation and exposition of

* Jahn, Movers, Scholz.

† Dereser, Scholz.

doctrine, addressed with great solemnity to the church, and to be submitted to and loyally carried out by the faithful.

But if the harmonisation of the doctrine of Scripture inspiration with the teachings of archaeology and history is not to be effected by a retrograde movement on the part of Catholic theologians, it would seem that there is now more prospect of the same desirable end being attained by the new light that is being thrown every day from the monuments of antiquity on the books of the Old Testament. The Papal Encyclical was published on the 18th of November last. A few days later appeared from the press Professor Sayce's book on "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments," a work which, it seems to us, is of good omen for the future prospects of Catholic Old Testament exegesis.

Let it, however, be clearly understood that we are far from being able to approve of all Professor Sayce sets forth in his latest publication. As far as the literary analysis of the Hexateuch is concerned, he is substantially in accord with the higher critics. The same may be said as to his views on the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others of the prophets. Moreover, we totally dissent from his views on the Book of Daniel. Nor are we able to agree with all he says as to the historical value of many of the Old Testament books. But, allowance being made for all this, I still assert that what Professor Sayce brings forward as the verdict of the monuments in regard to sacred Scripture is full of promise for the future.

That Professor Sayce is in the front rank of archaeologists is admitted by all. Dr. Driver calls him the "foremost English representative" of archaeology*; and Canon Cheyne says that "he is probably unsurpassed in his knowledge of the data of the inscriptions."† But, moreover, Canon Cheyne couples him with the name of Schrader—perhaps the most eminent of living Assyriologists—among the founders of Old Testament criticism, and writes of the two as follows: "Both have been compelled to drop behind as Old Testament critics, so eager and rapid has been the advance of recent criticism" (p. 230).

Surely, there is something suspicious in this "eager and rapid advance of recent criticism"! Especially when the two

* "Archæology and the Higher Criticism." *Contemporary*, March, p. 425.

† "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 231.

most accomplished archæologists of the day find themselves compelled to differ from the critics! Seeing, moreover, that such a man as Professor Sayce is of opinion that the critics have been going ahead altogether too fast!

The arrogance of tone adopted at times [he says]* by the "higher criticism" has been productive of nothing but mischief; it has aroused distrust even of its most certain results, and has betrayed the critic into a dogmatism as unwarranted as it is unscientific. Baseless assumptions have been placed on a level with ascertained facts, hasty conclusions have been put forward as principles of science, and we have been called upon to accept the prepossessions and fancies of the individual critic as the revelation of a new Gospel. [Again]. There are popes in the "higher criticism" as well as in theology.

Judging by his article on "Archæology and the Higher Criticism,"† it is evident that Dr. Driver is dissatisfied with Professor Sayce for the way in which he speaks of the higher criticism in his recent work. First of all, with great pomp and circumstance, taking his own book on the "Literature of the Old Testament" as a standard of reference, he proceeds to show that Professor Sayce's conclusions scarcely appreciably affect the results of recent criticism (pp. 409, 410); then he declares that "Professor Sayce uses the terms 'higher critic' and 'higher criticism' where he really means 'hyper-critic' and 'hyper-criticism'" (p. 410, *cf.* 425). Finally, he refers as unjust to "the charge or insinuation, that 'higher critics' generally neglect archæology" (p. 411, *cf.* 410). In regard to the first point, Dr. Driver might have spared himself the trouble; for it is perfectly evident to any reader of Professor Sayce's work (what, indeed, Dr. Driver himself, curiously enough, admits elsewhere (*e.g.*, p. 425)) that he admits substantially the results of the literary analysis of the Old Testament. As to the second point, we cannot agree with Dr. Driver. No doubt if Dr. Driver were taken as the incarnation of the "higher criticism" much of Professor Sayce's book would require modification. But then Dr. Driver must know perfectly well that he lags somewhat behind the critical host. I only bring forward one quotation to illustrate the fact, and that shall be from his friend Canon Cheyne. What does Canon Cheyne say of Dr.

* "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 5.

† *Contemporary*, March, 1894.

Driver's "Literature of the Old Testament"?* "The book is to a certain extent a compromise." "Dr. Driver is free in his criticism up to a certain point, but then suddenly stops short." Besides, even if Professor Sayce's words do not apply to Dr. Driver, they apply largely, as we shall see, to such men as Wellhausen, Kuenen and Colenso. Surely Dr. Driver does not mean to imply that these are not representative critical names! Finally, though Dr. Driver thinks that the higher critics have made ample use of archæology in their study of the Old Testament, other critics, equally competent, hold different views. Thus, Canon Cheyne says: "I fully admit that until Schrader and Sayce arose, Old Testament critics did not pay much attention to Assyriology" (p. 234). And again, he would have no objection if Professor Sayce had said that "Kuenen, for instance, had not given enough attention to Assyriology, and that Willhausen and Robertson Smith had in former years (like other Semitic scholars) displayed an excessive distrust of that study" (p. 235). It would seem, therefore, that Dr. Driver's criticisms upon Professor Sayce's new work are not always well-founded.

I proceed now to examine some of the results of the study of the monuments of antiquity, as they are set forth in Professor Sayce's latest work, and as they effect the writings of the Old Testament.

A most important consideration, not only in regard to the possibility of the Mosaic authorship, but also from the point of view of the reliability of the Old Testament history, is the date of the introduction of Semitic writing. M. Rénan, in his "*Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*," the last volume of which has only appeared within the last few months, assures us that "hand-writing was unknown in Israel until three or four hundred years after the time of Moses and Joshua. The ages which do not possess hand-writing transmit only fables."[†] Such an idea has been completely exploded by the revelations of the monuments.

Until quite recently, the opinion of Champollion, adopted by Drummond and Salvolini, and ably developed by De Rougé, Canon Taylor and Lenormant, that the Phœnician alphabet,

* "*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*," p. 252.

† Vol. I. p. 155, *note*.

from which nearly all existing alphabets have been derived, owed its origin directly to the alphabet of ancient Egypt, was the opinion of almost all scholars. The matter is at present by no means so clear as it was. "The explorations of Dr. Glaser in Southern Arabia have lately put the question in a new and unexpected light" (p. 39). He has re-copied or discovered over a thousand inscriptions in Yemen and Hadhramaut, in two different dialects, one of which is more archaic than the other. It appears that the inscriptions belong to the ancient kingdoms of Ma'in and Saba; and, from the light that Dr. Glaser has thrown on the subject, it seems to be conclusively established that the kingdom of Ma'in had already fallen into decay before the rise of the kingdom of Saba. The kingdom of Saba was itself of great antiquity. In the eighth century B.C., its sway extended to the extreme north of Arabia, and we know from the Old Testament that one of its queens had visited king Solomon two centuries before. Now Ma'in had already enjoyed a long term of existence before the rise of Saba. Indeed, thirty-three of its kings are named in the inscriptions; and it seems to be established, that in the days of the Exodus, the kings of Ma'in ruled Arabia even to the boundaries of Madian and Edom; and that writing was commonly practised in the kingdom.

From these facts a very important conclusion follows. It would seem more likely that the Phœnician alphabet derives its origin from Ma'in, than that the alphabet of Ma'in springs from Phœnicia. And in fact this conclusion is strengthened by a comparison of the two alphabets in the light of the names of the Hebrew characters. For, whilst these names are meaningless, if taken in connection with the earliest forms of the Phœnician letters, they are often explained when brought to bear upon those of Ma'in.

But a still more important conclusion also follows. It becomes impossible any longer to maintain the illiterateness of the Israelites in the time of the Exodus. They had just left a country in which writing and literature had been known for ages; men of their own race, the people of Ma'in, who read and wrote, were constantly passing to and fro through the countries which they occupied; and, finally, at the other end of the desert, were the states of Edom and Madian,

which were in constant communication with the kingdom of Ma'in.*

But, furthermore, there is evidence from the inscriptions to show that "the populations of Western Asia in the age of Moses were as highly cultured and literary as the populations of Western Europe in the age of the Renaissance" (p. 47).

Tel el-amarna is a mound, situated on the Nile, about half-way between the towns of Minieh and Assiout. Here one of the Egyptian kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenôphis IV., who had changed his name into Khu-n-Aten, having been expelled from Thebes by the influence of the priesthood, built himself a new capital, and deposited in it the official correspondence of his father and himself, which he had taken with him in his flight. At his death his capital fell into decay; and his correspondence lay buried in the ruins of the city, till it was exhumed in the year 1887, forming the collection known as the "Tel el-amarna Tablets." The correspondence is composed of a vast number of letters from persons in every rank of life, on all kinds of subjects, and written from Palestine, Phœnicia, Babylonia and elsewhere. They are written upon clay, in the cuneiform characters of Babylonia. And so long and so thoroughly had this form of writing been adopted, that experts can tell at a glance, by the shape of the characters, whence any particular tablet had come.

Now Khu-n-Aten and his father were both Egyptian kings, who flourished more than a century before the Exodus. Still the Tel el-amarna Tablets are almost all written—not in Egyptian—but in Babylonian. Babylonian, in fact, was evidently the great medium of communication in that age in Western Asia, just as French is now the language of diplomacy. The Babylonian language and still more the Babylonian system of writing were extremely difficult to learn; and yet it is clear that "every one who pretended to the rank and education of a gentleman" (p. 49) was able to correspond in that tongue. "Schools and libraries must have existed everywhere, and the art of writing and reading must have been as widely spread as it was in Europe before the days of the penny post"† (p. 51). In fine, Babylonian culture and

* Cf. Sayce, pp. 37-46.

† Such a library would have existed at Cariath-sepher, "the City of

literature were paramount throughout the whole of Western Asia.

All this has a very important bearing upon the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. The similarity between the subject-matter of these chapters and the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian texts has been long recognised. In fact, in some places, in the accounts of the Creation, the formation of woman, the Garden of Eden, the tree of life, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, and Nimrod, the resemblance is even noticable in the words.

Nor is there any reason why the Catholic interpreter should deny that the author of Genesis had the venerable Babylonian texts before him; any more than that he should deny that the authors of Judges, Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles made use of fallible written sources; or that the writer of the second book of Machabees epitomised the five books of Jason of Cyrene (ii. 20); or that St. Luke wrote his gospel, according to what he heard from those who "were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" (l. 2). Traces of the primitive tradition, though obscured by a dense cloud of mythology and fable, are doubtless contained in the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian texts. But then the gift of inspiration would have protected the sacred writer from recording in his work anything but what the Holy Spirit desired.

Now the practically unanimous verdict of the higher critics assigns these chapters chiefly to the two-fold prophetic narrative which was combined into one probably in the eighth century B.C., and partly also to the priestly writer, who did not complete his labours till after the Babylonian captivity. And we are asked to believe that it was during his residence in Babylon that the priest-writer became acquainted with the Babylonian accounts of the Creation and the Flood. How the prophetic writers obtained their information, we are not definitely told.

The Tel el-amarna Tablets throw a new light on the matter.

Books" (Judges i. 11); called in Joshua (xv. 49) Cariat-senna, "the City of Instruction;" no doubt because of a famous school there. An indication of the early use of writing occurs in Judges v. 14 (acknowledged by all to be very ancient); for Professor Sayce tells us the correct translation is, "Out of Machir came down lawgivers, and out of Zabulon they that handle the pen of the scribe" (p. 56).

We know that the Babylonian texts on primitive history are of great antiquity; the great Chaldæan epic, containing the description of the Flood, being said to have been composed in in the year 2350 B.C. We know, moreover, that Babylonian literature, containing all these ancient traditions, was familiar in Palestine, Egypt, and the neighbouring countries long before the time of Moses. Of course archæology cannot decide when the Bible writer made use of the Babylonian texts; "all it can do is to show that an early date is just as possible as a late one"* (p. 106).

As a result of his study of the higher criticism some few years ago, Professor Mivart tells us that "it is thought to be in the highest degree unlikely that Abraham ever really existed."† And, indeed, Wellhausen says of him that "he might with more likelihood be regarded as a free creation of unconscious art."‡ Such, in fact, is the common view of critics, who regard the name as made up to signify the mythical father of the Hebrew race; Abraham meaning "the father of many peoples." Moreover, notwithstanding Dr. Driver's protest, that it is not correct to state that "it has been a dogma of the 'higher criticism' to reject the historical character" (p. 416) of the expedition described in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, we must say that it certainly has been commonly called in question by that school. Thus, to say nothing of Rénan and others, Canon Cheyne, even after reading Professor Sayce's defence in "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," writes: "I am afraid that Professor Sayce's defence of the narrative in Genesis xiv. is not very successful."§

Against all this we may point out that the name Abram, Abu-ramu, "the exalted father," though the name does not refer to the great patriarch himself, has been found among early Babylonian contracts (p. 159). Moreover, the idea that the Elamite campaign mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis is a mere reflection of such campaigns as those of Sennacherib into patriarchal times, is now known to be without foundation. Babylonian or Elamite invasions of Palestine

* Cf. Sayce, pp. 46-158.

† *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1887, p. 41.

‡ *Prolegomena*, p. 320.

§ "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 239.

before the Exodus are not only credible but matters of history. We read in the inscriptions that, 3800 years B.C., Sargon of Accad had pushed his victories even to the Mediterranean, and that Ammi-Satana, King of Babylon (2241-2216, B.C.), included Syria and Palestine in his empire. Moreover, a prince named Eri-Aku tells us that his father, Kudur-Mabug, was "father of the land of the Amorites"* in the age of Abraham; and this Kadur-Mabug has a name formed in precisely the same way as the Chedor-Laomer (Kudur-Lagamar) of Genesis xiv. So that Genesis xiv. and the inscriptions are in perfect accord. "In both we find Babylon divided into more than one kingdom; in both it is under the suzerainty of Elam; in both its princes claim dominion in the ancient West. But the parallelism extends even further than this. The King of Elam bears a name so analogous to that of the father of Eri-Aku as to suggest that they belonged to the same family, while Eri-Aku of Larsa irresistibly reminds us of Arioch of Ellasar" (p. 165).

We have, moreover, confirmatory evidence respecting the incident of Melchizedech, mentioned in the same chapter of Genesis. Jerusalem is written in the inscriptions Uru-'salim,† 'Salim being the god of "peace." There is, among the Tel el-amarna tablets, a letter from a certain Ebed-tob, vassal-king of Jerusalem, in which he tells the Pharaoh that he holds his office, not from him, but from "the great king," that is, the god of the city. He was, in fact, "King of Salem" and "priest of the most high god." For the office of priest-king was most common in those early times. The position of Ebed-tob was that of Melchizedech, and fits in exactly with what is said of him in Genesis xiv.‡

From what we have said of the general diffusion of knowledge in early times, and the constant intercourse between Ma'in and Edom, it seems certain that the use of writing must have prevailed in Edom at a very early date. The list of kings of Edom, contained in Genesis xxxvi., certainly points to that conclusion. For there was no reason why the writer of Genesis should have evolved such a list from his inner con-

* This country included Palestine in those days.

† Uru—city. So the word means "City of the God of Peace."

‡ Sayce, pp. 174, *et seq.*

sconsciousness. And it is natural to suppose that the names were taken from the printed records of Edom. Professor Sayce suggests the possible presence of two other specimens of Edomite literature in the Bible. One of these is the Book of Job, the scene of which is laid in the land of Us, not far from the Edomite border. Perhaps the corruption and difficulty of the text arises from the fact of its having been written originally in a different dialect from Hebrew, and having afterwards "passed through the hands of Jewish editors" (pp. 207, 480). The other is the collection of proverbs, which begins (Proverbs xxxi. 1) with the words: "The proverbs of Lemuel, King of Massa, which his mother taught him." This suggestion is based on the supposition, which seems to be borne out by the monuments, that Massa was close to the borders of Edom.*

The Egyptian element in the Hexateuch comprises those chapters which deal with the history of Joseph, the sojourn in Egypt, and the Exodus. Professor Sayce tells us that "the Egyptian colouring given to the history of Joseph is too vivid and clear to admit of question" (p. 208). And again: "It is in accordance with the general facts of Egyptian history; while, in matters of detail . . . it displays a striking accuracy" (p. 230). Dr. Driver is largely of the same opinion, for, while observing that the Pentateuch "is deficient in local *details*" (p. 418), he admits that the "Egyptian colouring of these narratives undoubtedly tends to confirm their general credibility" (*ibid*). In fact, just such a position as was bestowed upon Joseph, we know to have been entrusted to a certain Dudu, who was also a native of Canaan, in the reign of Khu-n-Aten.† Parallels have been found to the seven years of scarcity; and we know that the changes said to have been introduced by Joseph in the land tenure of Egypt,‡ are quite in harmony with Egyptian history. Finally, there exists a romance, called "The Story of Two Brothers," belonging to the time of Seti II., and coinciding so nearly with the facts narrated of Joseph in Genesis xxxix., that one is irresistibly led to the conclusion that the story is

* Sayce, pp. 207, 479, 480.

† "Records of the Past," iii. 67-70.

‡ Gen. xlvii. 20-26.

founded on the history of Joseph's experience with Putiphar's wife.

Kuenen says of the Exodus that it is "utterly unhistorical."* And, strange to say, he is led to this conclusion not because of the miracles recorded, but chiefly owing to what he regards as the absurdity of the numbers. Would he, on the same principle, entirely reject Herodotus' picture of the Persian wars, because of the incredible magnitude he assigns to Xerxes' army? Surely, in both cases, at most he can only conclude the exaggeration of the numbers. At all events, archaeology does not bear out Kuenen's opinion as to the Exodus. On the contrary, the Mosaic narrative receives fresh confirmation every day.

The land of Goshen has "ceased to be the property of fanciful theorists, and has passed into the possession of the scientific map-maker."† It was, in fact, the Phakusa of classical geographers, and was situated at modern Saft el-Heuneh. Ramses II., the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, who reigned sixty-seven years, and died in 1281 B.C., was, without doubt, the Pharaoh of the oppression. For we know that in his time Canaan was not yet Israelite, since his armies constantly marched through it against the Hittites. We know, too, that he rose up against the Semitic foreigners in the land, enslaved them, and forced them to labour at his buildings. For "Ramses II. was emphatically the building Pharaoh of Egypt."‡ Rameses and Pithom were the fruit of their toil (Ex. i. 11); Rameses, whose very name tells of its founder, and which was near Goshen; and Pithom, called Pi-tum or Thuku (the Succoth of Ex. xiii. 37), which is known also to owe its origin to Ramses II., and which was situated at the modern Tel el-Maskhutah.

If Ramses was the Pharaoh of the oppression, it is equally certain that his son Menephtah II. was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. And, indeed, there exists an Egyptian tradition, taken by Josephus from the historian Manetho, which seems to assign the Exodus to that reign, and even mentions in connection with it the name of Moses.§

* Hexateuch, p. 42.

† Sayce, p. 234.

‡ Sayce, p. 239.

§ Josephus, "C. Apionem," i. 26.

With regard to the route followed by the Israelites in their departure out of Egypt, Professor Sayce writes as follows :*

The excavations and researches of recent years have at last begun to throw light on this perplexing question. Little by little we have recovered the geography of the Delta in the age of Moses, and are at last beginning to trace the march of the Hebrews in their flight from Egypt. It is true many points still remain doubtful, and upon these discussion is still possible; but more points have been finally cleared up, and the main outlines of the map of the Delta can now be filled in.

Archæology, for instance, has enabled us to explain the visit of Jethro, priest of Madian, to his kinsman Moses whilst he was in the wilderness of Sinai.† For, on independent grounds, it tells us that Sinai was really in the district of Seir, and so, close to Madian. On the subject of the position of Sinai Wellhausen gives us a good instance of his desire to profit by archæology. "We do not know," he says,‡ "where Sinai was situated. . . . Only dilettanti care much for controversy on the matter."

We cannot at present throw much light upon the conquest of Canaan and the period of the Judges. That will come when the buried cities of Palestine have been explored and their libraries exhumed. The labours of Professor Petrie and Mr. Bliss, however, have not left us entirely in the dark. The site of Lachish, mentioned in Joshua (x.), has been discovered at Tell el-Hesi; and we have learnt from its ruins the vast age of the cities of Canaan, and the immense strength of their walls.§ Moreover, we are not without an explanation how the Israelites could have prevailed against such powerful foes. From an inscription of the Pharaoh Ramses III. (c. 1210) at Medinet Habu, we know that a powerful invasion from the north had descended upon and weakened the Hittites and Amorites at the very time of the Israelite invasion.||

In the Book of Judges (iii.) it is said that Othniel delivered Israel from Chusan-Rasathaim, King of Mesopotamia, into whose hands it had been delivered for eight years. Wellhausen refers to this episode as a kind of standard

* P. 250.

† Ex. xviii.

‡ Prolegomena, p. 344, *note*.

§ The walls of Lachish were 28 ft. 6 in. thick.

|| Sayce, p. 299.

apochryphal story,* but nevertheless it has received confirmation from the inscriptions. The invasion of Canaan from the north was really undertaken with a view to an ultimate attack upon Egypt. Among the allied nations was Aram-Naharaim or Mitanni; but when the other princes marched with their troops into Egypt the King of Aram-Naharaim† remained behind in Canaan. It was then that "Israel served the King of Mesopotamia." Ramses III. was Pharaoh of Egypt, and proved victorious over the invaders. He followed up his victory into Palestine, and, doubtless in alliance with Othoniel, put an end to the tyranny of the King of Mitanni. All this fits in admirably with the history of the Book of Judges.‡

The main outlines of the history of Israel from the time of David is not called in question by critics; neither is the fact that writing was practised in Israel during the period of the kings.§ The discovery of the Moabite stone (c. 850 B.C.) and of the Siloam inscription|| has removed all doubt on that subject. It is but natural to suppose therefore—and, indeed, it is admitted by all—that the writer of the Books of Kings drew his materials from written sources, sometimes the Assyrian and other inscriptions, at other times the authorities mentioned in his work. The accuracy with which he does so is well illustrated by an inscription which has recently been found at Singerli, near Antioch, from which it would seem that the spelling of the documents was followed even where, as in this case, inaccurate.¶

Dr. Driver finds nothing "which is in conflict with the conclusions of modern critics" in Professor Sayce's views on the Books of Kings (p. 421). That is satisfactory, for Professor Sayce tells us that "we can accept without hesitation the history contained in the Books of Kings, even in its details" (p. 447). It is true he restricts this statement in some degree. Thus, he says: "The chronological framework of the history must be laid aside as artificial and misleading;" and "we meet from time to time with statements which imply

* Prolegomena, p. 207.

† Called in the Vulgate "the King of Mesopotamia."

‡ Sayce, pp. 296-305.

§ Driver, l. c., p. 421.

|| Belongs to the end of the eighth century B.C.

¶ Sayce, p. 413.

a defective knowledge of the facts." It must, however, be borne in mind that Catholic interpreters have long recognised the presence of chronological errors in the text; and, then, we do not know that in every case the sacred writer meant to give any more than an approximate date. To take an instance, Wellhausen asserts that the chronology of the historical books is artificial; his chief argument being the constant recurrence of the number 40.* And, indeed, that number appears so often that one would naturally be disposed to attribute its use to something more than mere chance. Professor Sayce, however, assures us, and he is borne out by the Moabite stone, that the period of forty years is, "in Hebrew idiom, an indefinite period, the real length of which was unknown to the author," (p. 375); just as in Greek the word *μυρίοι* was used to express a number indefinitely great.

The class of statements alluded to, "implying a defective knowledge of the facts," are not of a very alarming kind. We give two specimens. The King of Damascus, called Benhadad in 3 Kings xx., is named Hadad-idri on the monolith of Shalmaneser II., found at Kurkh in Armenia.† Another such error is supposed to occur in 4 Kings xvii. 4, where So, Sua or Seve is called "King of Egypt." In a text of Sargon, belonging to this period, a certain Sab'e, distinguished from the Pharaoh, is referred to as commander-in-chief of Egypt. The writer of Kings is said to have confounded this Sab'e with the Pharaoh.‡

Of the Books of Chronicles, Professor Mivart tells us that, in the eyes of critics, they are "considered as thoroughly unhistorical," "being habitually falsified."§ Wellhausen will only admit that "it is possible a grain of good corn may occur among the chaff."|| Colenso concludes that "the Chronicler's statements, when not supported by other evidence, are *not certainly to be relied on*."¶ Finally, Wellhausen lays down that the sources of the Books of Chronicles are merely the older historical books.**

Professor Sayce, relying on the verdict of the monuments,

* Prolegomena, p. 272, *et seq.*

† Hadad and his son Ben-hadad were both gods, worshipped at Damascus.

‡ It is not clear that So of Chronicles is not intended for Schabak, the Pharaoh. In any case, Sab'e was clearly practically "King of Egypt," as far as the Israelites were concerned.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. 41.

|| Prolegomena, p. 224.

¶ Pentateuch, p. 97.

** *Loc. cit.*, pp. 171-227.

takes a different view of the matter; and in this he has the support of Dr. Driver (p. 424). A large part of the history of Chronicles is identical with that of Kings; enough has been said on that portion already. As to those narratives which are found in Chronicles, and of which there are no traces in the Books of Kings, Professor Sayce tells us that we may assume them to be in accordance with historical facts (p. 461). Even where the chronicler, in recording the same events as are to be found in the Books of Kings, mentions places and peoples omitted in the latter, the additions are to be considered as worthy of credit (pp. 467, 468). In fact, such passages as that recounting the captivity and subsequent restoration of King Manasses (2 Ch. xxxiii.), and that in which the campaign of Zerah against Judah—characterised as “apochryphal” by Wellhausen*—is described, have been shown to be in conformity with history. From all this it follows that “the chronicler was not confined to the Books of Kings and the writings of the canonical prophets for the sources of his history.”†

Still, it must be added that Professor Sayce does not vindicate the accuracy of the Books of Chronicles in full. The most we can say is that already the inscriptions have materially modified the incredulity of critics regarding these books. Professor Sayce, however, lays down that the chronicler’s “statements are not always exact,” and that “his use of the documents which lay before him was uncritical” (p. 462). Still, when we come to examine into the actual objections raised against the reliability of the chronicler, they turn out to be mostly of a very trivial character, and such as do not present any great difficulty.‡ The most serious is certainly the charge of consistent exaggeration in numbers (p. 463). It must not be imagined, however, that anyone defends the numbers of Chronicles as they now stand. Indeed, it seems to us that modern critics do not take sufficiently into account the corrupt state of the text of these books. For, as Davidson says:§ “The text is more corrupt than that of any other sacred book.” Surely critics who regard the older historical books as the only

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 207.

† Sayce, p. 461.

‡ Such is the objection that Pul and Tiglathpilneser are spoken of as distinct persons (1 Ch. v. 26).

§ “Introduction to the Old Testament,” vol. ii. p. 108.

sources of the Books of Chronicles, must explain, in this way, discrepancies between numbers occurring in Chronicles and corresponding numbers in the other books of the Old Testament, especially in cases where the chronicler does not exaggerate but diminish numbers.*

The Book of Esdras-Nehemias Professor Sayce attributes to the same author as the Books of Chronicles (p. 538); and he considers "the history of the return from the exile, and the events which immediately followed it," to have been taken from an Aramaic chronicle, and to be of "high value." He points out what he considers "chronological inconsistencies" (548) in other parts of the book, and assigns the date of the whole work to a time certainly not earlier than the high-priesthood of Jaddua (B.C. 351-331).

Archæology has done a great deal towards vindicating the early date of the Canticle of Canticles. It is true Hebraists are still inclined to favour its North Israelite origin, but we have every reason to be satisfied with the progress that has already been made towards establishing the Solomonian authorship. A few years ago we were told that on account of linguistic characteristics the Canticle must be assigned to the epoch of Alexander the Great and his successors. Now the language of critics is modified, and Canon Cheyne can only say that "all the facts as yet elicited by exegesis can be explained quite as well on the assumption of a late date as of an early one."† Three words, occurring in the Canticle, were largely responsible for the conclusion of critics as to its date—viz., *appiryon*, "a litter" (iii. 9), which was said to be from the Greek φορείον; *parde's*, "a garden" (iv. 13), associated with the Greek παράδεισος; and the Hebrew particle *shel* (iii. 7), said to be used only in late writings. Assyriologists have, however, discovered the Assyrian equivalent of *appiryon*, "*aparne*," among the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets. These inscriptions, which are memorials of an Assyrian colony once settled in Cappadocia, are of great antiquity, probably belonging to the fifteenth century B.C. *Parde's* is in all probability a corruption for *pare's*, from the Assyrian *pir'su*. As for the

* Cf. 1 Ch. ii. 23; Judges x. 4; 1 Ch. xi. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; 1 Ch. xxi. 12; 2 Sam. xxiv. 3, &c.

† "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 352.

particle *shel*, by a lucky chance, a stone weight has been found on the site of Samaria, belonging to the eighth century B.C., containing the identical word.* All this is very important, not merely as exploding the old arguments for the late date of the Canticle of Canticles, but because it shows how insecure is the foundation on which the literary analysis of the historical books of the Old Testament is built.

Professor Sayce comes to the conclusion that Esther, Judith, Tobias, Jonas, and, to a certain extent, the Books of Chronicles are specimens of Jewish haggadah. We have already expressed our opinion as to the possibility of the presence of such literature among the Sacred Books. It may, however, be added here that a learned writer of unquestioned orthodoxy, Father Cornely, is of opinion that the Books of Chronicles are not in the strict sense historical. By this we do not mean that he admits of errors in these books; but that he maintains the primary object of the writer to have been, not to write history, but to exhort his countrymen to the faithful observance of the Law, and due celebration of Divine worship. This he does by setting before them the history of the ancient kingdom, choosing certain facts "by which he might teach his countrymen how greatly the accurate observance of the Law and the legitimate worship of God tended to the prosperity of the kingdom."†

The last book of which we have to speak is the prophecy of Daniel; and here, we regret to say, Professor Sayce has gone over, bag and baggage, to the views of the higher critics. Not only does he maintain that Daniel was written in an age "later than that of Alexander the Great" (p. 535), but he entirely denies the historical value of the book (p. 532). Specimens of the errors contained in it are the following: "Belshazzar, and not Nabonidos, is said to be the last 'King of the Chaldeans,' and his successor is called 'Darius the Mede'" (p. 525). "The Biblical story implies that Babylon was taken by storm; at all events, it expressly states that 'the King of the Chaldeans was slain'" (p. 526). Finally, Belshazzar is said to have been the son of Nebuchadnezzar (*ibid.*) A discussion as

* Cf. Sayce, pp. 449, 491, 492. An attempt has been made by Robertson Smith to show that *shel* on the weight is not the particle *shel*, but another word. Cf. *Academy*, Nov. 18, 1893.

† Introduction, vol. ii. (1), p. 336.

to the reliability of the history contained in the Book of Daniel would be out of place in this paper. We shall therefore content ourselves with two remarks for the guidance of the reader, on the position taken up by Professor Sayce: (1) It seems to us a pity that Professor Sayce does not, in conformity with the advice he so often inculcates in the course of his work, exercise more reserve as to what the monuments may still have in store for us respecting the history of Daniel. Dr. Driver is far more careful, and says in one place: * "The circumstances are not inconsistent with the existence of 'Darius the Mede,' and a cautious criticism will not build too much on the silence of the monuments." (2) The second remark we make is, that Mr. Pinches, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who, in 1880, first brought to light one of the two tablets, on which Professor Sayce chiefly relies for his adverse views on the Book of Daniel, does not think the facts it contains inconsistent with the traditional view on the book.[†] In his paper on the subject at the Church Congress 1891,[‡] he shows that Belshazzar was "in a great measure endowed with royal powers"; that he "was practically king when Babylon was taken"; that he "was killed during the night"; that "the city was taken by Gobryas"; and that "Gobryas appointed governors in Babylon." If we suppose Gobryas and Darius the Mede to have been the same person, we reconcile in many points the history of Daniel and of the ancient monuments. In fact, as Mr. Pinches says: "The Book of Daniel is not by any means so unreconcilable as has during late years been supposed" (*loc. cit.*).

We have now finished our examination of Professor Sayce's latest work. We do not say that it is altogether satisfactory from a Catholic standpoint. Far from it. But we *do* say that it shows that archaeology is on the side of the Bible against destructive criticism. We claim that it shows that the light thrown upon the Old Testament by the inscriptions has already compelled the critics to retire from many a position hostile to orthodox interpretation; and that it gives us reason to expect that archaeology will, in the future, still further vindicate the

* "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 469.

† The same applies to Mr. Flinders Petrie.

‡ *Times*, Oct. 8, 1891.

teaching of the Church on the inspiration of Sacred Scripture.

Two short quotations place us in possession of Professor Sayce's opinion as to the light archæology has thrown upon the Old Testament: "We cannot fail to be struck by the fact," he says (p. 561), "that the evidence of oriental archæology is on the whole distinctly unfavourable to the pretensions of the 'higher criticism.' The 'apologist' may lose something, but the 'higher critic' loses much more." And again: "The critic had resolved the narratives of Genesis into a series of myths and idealistic fictions; the Assyriologist has rescued some at least of them for the historian of the past. With this result let us be content" (p. 173). No! We are not content. Professor Sayce's position and ours are totally different. He has done a service to the Church in, as he himself expresses it, "taking stock of" the archæological knowledge we have already acquired. But then he is a believer in what Professor Huxley terms "inspiration with limited liability"; the Church teaches "plenary inspiration." He is satisfied with the partial vindication of the Old Testament; we look for its complete victory over destructive criticism.

And we are the more confident of final triumph because we know that, whilst the Church is opposed to the loose systems of inspiration which find favour in these days, She has never committed herself to the narrow theories of verbal inspiration, which were in vogue with the early reformers of the sixteenth century. *Virtus in medio stat.* The Church has always favoured a reverent, and yet broad and liberal teaching on this subject; and in such teaching we may confidently expect her to persevere.

J. A. HOWLETT.

ART. V.—THE VIVISECTION CONTROVERSY.

Our Secret Friends and Foes. By PERCY J. FRANKLAND.
London. 1893.

Animals' Rights considered in Relation to Social Progress. By
HENRY S. SALT, author of "The Life of David Thoreau,"
&c. London. 1893.

THE first of these two books is valuable both on account of its treatment of the subject directly indicated on its title-page, and because of the information it copiously supplies on the practical utility of physiological experiment. The second takes the opposite side, and vehemently protests against this (as Mr. Salt calls it) "experimental torture." It is valuable not only on account of its vigorous presentment of the other side of the question, but also because of the consistency with which it attacks sport, the slaughter of animals for food, and other cognate practices. The whole question has of late years been attracting considerable attention, not only among the general public, but also—as is shown by recent discussions in the *Tablet*, the *Catholic Times*, the *Month*, and elsewhere—in Catholic circles. In here offering on it some (it is to be hoped) dispassionate observations, the most orderly plan will be to begin by stating what is intended by vivisection, and what is the *punctum difficultatis* respecting it.

Being derived from *vivum*, a living being, and *sectio*, a cutting, "vivisection" etymologically means the performance of a surgical operation on a living creature by the use of a cutting instrument. But by common consent, it is on the one hand restricted to operations on beings which, unlike plants, and, probably, some of the lower animals, are capable of feeling pain, and is on the other hand extended to all operations analogous to those performed by the use of cutting instruments, whatever the nature of the agent may be—whether it is a needle, a hypodermic syringe, a pole-axe, heat, cold, electricity, a chemical compound, a disease-germ, or anything else. Further, it is not employed with reference to

operations—in this wide sense of “operation,” in which the administration of an electric shock may be said to be one—undertaken for the advantage or with the consent of the living being on whom, or on which, they are performed. To trephine the skull of a patient who was insensible on account of the pressure exercised on the brain by a tumour or a fragment of broken bone, would not be denominated vivisection if it were done for the patient's benefit and not merely to ascertain whether such an operation could be successfully carried out, though from the nature of the case he could not give his consent; and as little would the hypodermic injection of a new drug under the skin of a medical student who understood and agreed to what was being done, receive the name of vivisection, even though the drug were administered solely to ascertain the nature of its physiological effects with greater exactitude than was already known.* But from the narrowness of their mental faculties, the lower animals are incapable of according “consent” (even in the loosest meaning of that term) on anything but the most simple matters,† while they are continually being employed in the service of other beings without any compensating advantage to themselves. The term vivisection is therefore chiefly, and indeed almost exclusively, applied to operative procedures on them, without the consent of the animal operated on, and not for its individual benefit or advantage. It is used in regard of operations (in the wide sense of operation already indicated) carried out for the purpose of augmenting human knowledge,

* In this last case, however, the question is, as often happens, one of degree. The term “vivisection” would probably be applied to it if great and prolonged suffering were incurred. And the consent, it will be noticed, does not essentially alter the moral aspect of the subject. There are innumerable actions which it is wrong to perform, even with the consent of the person concerned, *e.g.*, murder.

† They are, for the same reason, incapable of *dissent* with respect to actions which are at all complicated, *i.e.*, to acts of which the relevant consequences are multitudinous or remote. Being unable to take into account the action as a whole, they are incompetent to say either “Yes” or “No” to it. To take as an example a hard case for the lower animals, it is impossible even to propose to a rabbit such a question as, “Will you be inoculated with rabies in order that your spinal cord may be used for the preparation of anti-rabic hypodermic injections?”—much less to discuss the bearings of the subject, and obtain an intelligent adhesion or refusal. The introduction, by anti-vivisectionists, of *consent* as a factor in the discussion, is consequently misleading.

of confirming what is already known, or of acquiring dexterity in operative surgery.*

Opposite opinions have been expressed on the usefulness of such experiments; from which the reader is fairly entitled to draw the conclusion that some have been useful, and others not. Some, indeed, appear to have been performed in a spirit of simple perversity. But though it is a common experience that the utility of an addition to human knowledge does not come out for many, perhaps for many hundreds of, years—as the investigations of the Greek geometers into the properties of the ellipse become useful only after Newton had rendered it possible to use their results in navigation—the authority of the great majority of those qualified to judge is strongly in favour of “vivisection.” Many years ago the British Association for the Advancement of Science expressed itself in its favour. The British Medical Association passed a resolution in the same sense on July 29, 1892, at a general meeting attended also by the members of the Council; and very impressively wrote Sir Andrew Clark, Sir James Paget, Dr. Samuel Wilkes, and Sir George Humphrey to the *Times* in course of a controversy on the subject, “It is hardly possible for us to name any progress of importance in medicine, surgery, or midwifery, which has not been due to, or promoted by, this method of inquiry.” Indeed, it would never have been seriously objected to were it not for the infliction of pain—and in some cases, unquestionably, of severe pain—which it involves. The animal may be etherised or chloroformed, or curare—the effect of which is more prolonged—may be administered to it. An etherised or chloroformed animal, killed by an extra dose of the anæsthetic before returning to consciousness, suffers no pain or other inconvenience except that of having the chloroform or ether administered to it; which may be reduced to a minimum. A frog chloroformed

* For instance, in ligaturing arteries or suturing gastric ulcers in such a way that the contents of the digestive organs will not afterwards enter the cavity of the peritoneum. The human knowledge referred to may be information with respect to the precise nature, and consequently the proper treatment, of a particular case, *e.g.*, ascertaining whether a child is suffering from diphtheria, by “cultivating” in the mouth of a guinea pig a fragment of the suspicious exudation on its fauces; or determining in an analogous way whether a dog, supposed to be mad, by which human beings had been bitten, was in reality rabid.

by immersion and hypodermic injection, on the web of whose hind foot the circulation of the blood and the initial phenomena of inflammation are shown, feels no pain whatever; and those who see whatever of physiological phenomena can reasonably be shown them, are *cæteris paribus* more likely to be interested in their work, to make progress with their studies, and to become good and useful practitioners of the healing art. But though it is always easier to perform a manual operation on an insensible and therefore motionless animal, there are cases (as, operations on the nervous system, to investigate facts of sensation) where insensibility has to be brought to an end toward the close of the operation, though it may not be totally brought to an end, or morphine or some other sedative may be employed to dull the pain.*

And, again, though the operation itself may be performed from first to last under the influence of an anæsthetic, its very purpose may be to inoculate with the bacilli of tubercle or of some other malady, or to produce some other abnormal and more or less painful state in the animal, which is then allowed to live for a sufficient time for the results to be investigated. In this way Koch proved the *Bacillus tuberculosis* to be the cause of tubercular disease.—These are the general features of the method. To enter into details and select examples would be the method of a dishonest advocate on the one side or on the other; for, as all the world is aware, anything can by that method be made to appear proved, without the slightest real progress in the intelligent presentment of the subject having been made.

The *punctum difficultatis* is, then, whether it is morally right to give pain without the consent of the creature on which the suffering is inflicted, and is inflicted neither as a punishment nor for its individual advantage. This is equivalent to the companion question, whether under the same circumstances it is allowable to deprive of pleasure; for the privation of a pleasure is, obviously, morally equivalent to the infliction of pain. All sentient creatures are engaged for a considerable part of their lives in balancing, by instinct or by reason, pains and pleasures one against the other, with

* Contrary to what is popularly supposed, a full dose of curare destroys sensibility. See Victor Horsley, in the *Rock*, Jan. 6, 1893.

the result that they bear the pain because of the pleasure, or forego the pleasure because of the pain. But it is not equivalent to the question whether we may do evil that good may come, because pleasure and pain are not good and evil in the moral sense of the words good and evil.

New human beings are continually coming into the world, and an essayist can scarcely make a greater mistake than to take for granted that every one who reads what he writes is acquainted with the subject beforehand. Let it therefore be briefly explained that the term Good (and, by parity, the contrary term Evil) has two meanings, which are linked together by what is "good" in either sense being an object to be desired. The two kinds of good are, in the phraseology of the scholastics, the *bonum delectabile*, or pleasure, and the *bonum honestum*, or what is right; and with these are contrasted respectively the *malum afflictivum*, pain, and the *malum inhonestum*, wickedness, sin or moral evil in its various kinds and degrees. That the lower and the higher sense differ *toto celo* is as obvious as anything can well be. To be pleasurable or painful is a quality of feelings, which are in many cases not under our own control, and the apprehension of which requires no intellectual faculty. To be morally praiseworthy or culpable is a property of actions freely and more or less deliberately performed by intelligent beings which know and advert to the part of the moral law that is relevant to the actions they are performing.* The pain of a broken leg is

* Moral good and evil are not, of course, here taken (as, on account of the softness of the modern world, is so often done) as identical with kindness and asperity, but include, respectively, justice and every other virtue, and injustice—whether in the direction of being unjustly kind or in that of being unjustly the reverse—and every other vice. What is primarily and essentially good is right action. Other things are called morally good in reference to this. One who was asleep would be called good, if he had performed right actions and had not retracted them; or might be called good by anticipation, if his natural disposition was such that right actions might reasonably be expected of him: though, evidently, he would be morally praiseworthy or meritorious only when, by his reason and free will, he proceeded to act rightly. Indeed, he would be more praiseworthy if he acted rightly *in spite of* his natural disposition. And in the action, what is primarily and essentially good is the act of the will, of which right speech and right deeds are only the carrying out. "There is nothing in the world," says Immanuel Kant—who is here quoted because he presents the subject nakedly and by itself, without introducing extraneous considerations—"which can be termed absolutely and altogether good, a good will only excepted. Intellectual endowments, wit, and extent of fancy, as also courage, determination, and constancy in adhering to purposes once formed, are undeniably good in many

"bad," and so is a bad egg or a rotten apple. But they are bad in a sense so widely different from that in which a sin is so, that, except as to the one point that they are things to avoid, there can scarcely be any comparison between them. And similarly of pleasure and what is morally right. An agreeable odour is good, and so is a good action; but no number or intensity of agreeable odours, for however great a time their enjoyment was prolonged, could ever be equivalent to the goodness of the most minutely good action that ever was performed. Pain, therefore, and moral evil being two entirely distinct things, to cause the first is not necessarily or by the nature of the case to be the author of the second; and need not be so unless the pain is indirectly a cause of moral evil, or unless there is devastation of the creation of God, or cruelty in its infliction.

Postponing for the moment the topics of devastating God's creation, and the detestable sin of cruelty, the infliction of suffering may be indirectly the cause of moral evil in two ways: by brutalising the author and the spectators (if there are any) of the suffering, and producing the same effect, though, it may be, in a very minor degree, on those who afterwards hear or read of it; and by leading to wrongdoing on the part of those who are made to suffer; for, as a common saying has it, "Oppression maketh" even "a wise man mad." The *first* of these two reasons obtains with respect to the causation of pain among the brute creation as well as among men, though it does not hold to the same extent. And only *brutal* infliction of pain can (as far as pain-infliction is con

points of view; but they are so far from being absolutely good, that they are qualities capable of being rendered bad and hurtful, when the will, under whose control they stand, is not good in itself. . . . A good will is esteemed to be so, not by the effects which it produces, but by its mere good volition, *i.e.*, it is good in itself, and is, therefore, to be prized incomparably higher for its own sake than anything whatsoever which can be produced at the call of appetite or of inclination. Even if it should happen that, owing to an unhappy conjuncture of events, this good will were deprived of power to execute its benign intent, still this good will (by which is not meant a wish) would, like a diamond, shine in itself, and by virtue of its native lustre. Utility or uselessness could neither enhance nor prejudice this internal splendour; they resemble the setting of a gem, whereby the brilliant is more easily taken in the hand and offered to the attention of those not otherwise judges, but which would not be required by any skilled lapidary to enable him to form his opinion of its worth."—"Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Ethics," *in initio* (Semple's Translation. Edinburgh, 1871).

cerned, for, of course, there are many other ways with which we have nothing to do in which brutality may be occasioned) generate or nourish a habit of brutalism. But according to the practically uniform teaching of Catholic theologians, the *second* reason is inapplicable to the pains of the beasts, because the lower animals have no moral nature, and consequently no immortality. It is only on a superficial view that their minds seem like ours, and the high probability—indeed, the practical certainty—is that, necessarily explaining all other minds by our own (of the operations of which alone we are immediately conscious), we much exaggerate the partial and imperfect resemblance which exists. Our interpretations of other beings are drawn, remarks St. Thomas of Aquin, from what is observable in ourselves, with the inevitable result that—estimating what takes place elsewhere by what goes on in our own consciousness—we depress what is higher, and raise what is lower, than our own level. Hence, indeed, Fetichism.—Such is the generalising (or if it may be so called) the metaphysical side of the investigation of the animal consciousness. The experimental side of the investigation has scarcely advanced beyond the anecdotal stage. From this it ensues that (conformably with the most just observation of the Angelic Doctor just referred to) there are innumerable anecdotes of the cleverness of animals. The anecdotes relate, for obvious reasons, principally to animals which have been in intimate association with man; and for an animal to be intimately associated with man is like a man being admitted to the (as it were) visible companionship and the confidence of a superior angel. The mental calibre of dogs, wolves, or other species is to be estimated by what they are equal to when they are among themselves; by averaging the stupid animals (whose doings no anecdotist thinks it worth while to chronicle) along with the clever ones; and by taking, not exceptional actions, but the general course and run of their existence. Even then, that fallacy of observation cannot be altogether escaped which has originated such sayings as, “Fortune favours fools,” and “God protects fou folk and bairns.” The general impression conveyed by the whole of the instances will still be affected by our being more interested in and more likely to remember striking and excep-

tional cases. But at least an able wild dog will be compared with an able man, and an extraordinarily talented cat or pig with Newton, for instance, or with Socrates; while a dog, of which the most remarkable thing that can be said is that it could turn a handle, ring a bell, or count five, or that it showed surprise at seeing a picture, will be compared with a human being whose greatest mental achievements were of only the same kind. That there is in the lower animals, or at least in all of them but the lowest, something which may generically be called mind, and even intelligence, is so obvious that it has been denied only by some Cartesian philosophers, and, as Lactantius says, *Nihil est tam absurdum quod non dictum fuerit ab aliquo philosopho*. Without having been a dog, it is impossible to say exactly and certainly what goes on in a dog's mind. But from the similarity in the construction of the organs of sense it may be taken as practically certain that, in general terms, the sensations are similar in ourselves and in other vertebrates, though even here such examples as that of colour-blindness show that with sense organs indistinguishably alike marked differences between sensations may co-exist. In the higher animals, at all events, the sensations of bodily pleasure and pain are presumably not very different from what they would have been in ourselves had we and our ancestors led the kind of life that is lived by brutes, though the intensity of pain cannot of course be accurately judged of by the vehemence, much less by the "humanness"* with which

* According to the peripatetic and scholastic philosophy, as well as according to physiology, sensations are conjoined with and dependent on the bodily organism. The greatness of a pain is correlative with the delicacy of the nervous system in general; in particular, in regard of that kind of pain; with the intercommunication between its different parts; and with the amount of nervous matter involved. It is not, therefore, scientifically true to say that the beetle which we tread upon feels as much pain as when a giant dies. The few grains of nervous matter in a beetle cannot afford the material concomitant for as much pain as the four pounds or so in the body of a giant. The weight of the normal human brain ranges from about two pounds to about four, three pounds being taken as the average. This is between a thirtieth and a fortieth of the average body-weight. Small animals have heavier brains for their size than more bulky animals (and also have larger eyes); thus, in a blue-headed tit the proportion of brain-weight to body-weight is given as 1 to 12, and in a Greenland whale as 1 to 300 (Bastian, "The Brain as an Organ of Mind." London. 1880. P. 259). Taking as examples more familiar animals, it is given by Bastian as 1:400 in the horse; 1:350, or one-tenth that of man, in the sheep; 1:305 in the dog; 1:156 in the cat, a smaller animal than the dog, and *à fortiori* than man; 1:140 in the rabbit; and 1:76 in the mouse. It is not, however, to be supposed that the whole of the brain

it is expressed; and though in the lowest animal species it cannot be proved that there is any sensation or consciousness whatever. When we attempt to penetrate more deeply into the animal consciousness, and to go from the external sensations to the inner life of sense-imagination, remembrance, and anticipation, the details necessarily become more obscure. But it is evident that correspondence to these mental phenomena exist in the higher among them, and it is also evident that something which corresponds to hope, something which corresponds to fear—and so of anger, of sorrow, of gratitude, and of love. Our explanation—an explanation which, as has been seen above, probably errs greatly on the side of exaggeration—has to be taken from ourselves. And in ourselves, none of these are in themselves moral affections, though they go to the

of any animal is occupied with the elaboration of the material changes which are concomitant on sensations, or, more generally, on feelings. The production of unconscious organic changes and of movements (the motor nerves being given off by the brain directly or indirectly through the spinal chord) has also to be provided for, and only the residue is left for feeling, after this provision—the amount of which depends on the strength, nimbleness, and activity of the species—has been made. The construction of the nervous centres has also to be taken into account, as well as their size and consequent weight. In man, the surface of the brain, which is for many reasons believed to be specially or even exclusively concerned with feelings and the production of movements through feelings, has to be packed into the restricted space provided for it in the interior of the skull by folding it into a multitude of convolutions. The convolutions are very much shallower and fewer in the lower animals, with, presumably, a corresponding degradation in the intensity and variety of feelings; and the anterior lobe of the brain is less developed in proportion to the rest. The different parts of the nervous centres of the lower animals are also consolidated together less completely. So far does this want of integration go among the invertebrata that, in beetles and other insects, in worms, &c., the nervous system is little more than a double chain of knots of nervous matter extending down the ventral surface of the animal. Correlatively with this, a wasp or a moth will go on drinking a sweet fluid after it has received the most appalling injuries. The extraordinary acuteness of the senses in some animals, and the presence of special instincts (among which must apparently be counted a sense of direction), for which material concomitants have to be provided in the nervous system, also leave less room in the animal consciousness for the development of other feelings.

The vehemence with which pain is expressed depends not exclusively on its intensity, but on a variety of other circumstances, *e.g.*, on whether the animal is or is not gregarious, and on the bulk and weight of consciousness the pain has to move. Thus, an infant screams and throws itself about on account of having been pricked by the point of a pin in its clothes; and a fly which falls into water executes rapid movements, in the causation of the whole of which there is much less expenditure of nervous energy than when the hand is raised to brush another fly from the forehead. While we ought not to underrate the pains of the lower animals, our natural tendency, when we first begin to think about them seriously, is unquestionably enormously to exaggerate them, partly by interpreting them by our own higher consciousness, and partly by additional misinterpretation of the value of the expressions of animal emotion.

making of morals. All these impulses, and many others of analogous kinds, show themselves in infants long before they come to the use of reason so as to be capable of either mortal or venial sin. They are the organic and animal antecedents of the moral life. This moral life begins with the conscious disciplining of them—not in relation to a slap or a sweetmeat, though such discipline may be an introduction to the higher and later discipline—but by reference to the known law of God. It is not extraordinary that Protestants whose ethical principles have been injured by their theological principle that the *primi motus concupiscentie* are morally culpable, should be inclined to attribute a moral nature and consequently a future existence to the lower animals. But on Catholic principles the case is wholly different. Though in animals, as in ourselves, there exist impulses of anger and of kindness, yet, on our principles, such impulses are in themselves neither morally good nor morally evil. They may be well-placed or ill-placed, and consequently pleasant or delectable, or unpleasant to contemplate. But moral good and evil emerge only when they are viewed in relation to the moral law, and are then freely assented to or dissented from. Not only is there no evidence that the lower animals do this, but there is abundant evidence that they do not do it. Their whole mental status, and the absence among them of any rational and developed language capable of evoking such ideas, are conclusive to the contrary.

And hence it is the lower animals are entirely under our dominion to the whole extent of their possible service. This is not so with respect to other human beings, simply because *they*, on the other hand, have an immortal future, and are associated with us in this world only as it were outwardly, and accidentally, and for an infinitesimally small part of their total duration. We cannot, therefore, claim them as unreservedly our own, or exercise over them an unlimited power, even when we are physically able to do so. They have not a superficial and as it were a painted being of bodily organism, lower external sensations, dwindling internal sense-consciousness, and nothingness of moral nature. The meaning of their life becomes fuller and wider as it is more internal, until its inmost chamber reigns freedom deciding according to or

contrary to *their* conscience, and not necessarily according to what *we* think wrong or right. Under such circumstances we often have to *permit* where we do not *assent*, as God Himself permits to human freedom without assenting; whereas with respect to the lower animals when they are fully under our power, to permit is to assent. This is the reason, too, why the lower animals can be punished, not vindictively, or to vindicate the moral law, against which they are incapable of offending, but only correctively, as infants may be punished—not because they are committing sin, but because they are doing what is injurious to themselves or others, though they do not know it. These punishments of animals, moreover, are almost uniformly inflicted on them in consequence of their doing something injurious or not doing something useful to us in the state of servitude in which we place them—and place them, of course, without their own consent.

Reverting to the question previously asked, we may now drop out of it not only the clause about inflicting pain on the brutes “without their own consent,” but also, on account of what has just been said, that about inflicting it otherwise than as punishment; and may frame our question thus: Are we morally justified, and if so under what circumstances, in giving pain to any lower animal, otherwise than for its individual advantage?

Now to answer this question (which, the reader can scarcely need to be reminded, is often asked from most kindly and benevolent motives) by saying that *nature* inflicts pain, is, obviously, no reply. Nature is divinely ordained; but is only the beginning of the divine purpose. Her deserts and marshes, her famines and inundations, are only the initial field of and stimulus to action, on which the higher activity of man has to operate. We are here to better nature. Nor is it a reply to say that one has no sympathy with beetles and flies and worms and maggots, though one may be distressed at the sufferings of a pet dog or of a favourite horse. The very question is whether one ought to have sympathy in so far as the more lowly creatures come within our sphere. The pheasants and the foxes, and the other game or vermin pursued by the sportsman, the frogs and rabbits on which snakes are fed in menageries, and even the gentles with which the angler baits his hook, must in the

nature of things endure pain. So must the seals, martens, and ermines which are shot for the sake of their fur, the birds whose plumage used cruelly to adorn the head-dresses of women; the whales harpooned for their blubber, and the millions of silkworms thrown into hot water to obtain their silk, the bees suffocated or semi-suffocated for their honey—not to speak of cod crimped when alive, of lambs and calves and porkers slowly bled to death, of oysters eaten living, and of lobsters boiled alive. All these cases, and all others of the same general character, come into view as soon as the subject of vivisection is seriously reflected on; and besides, in every part of the inhabited world are kept, principally for the purpose of killing them, many millions of domesticated or semi-domesticated animals—oxen, sheep, pigs, goats, turkeys, fowls, ducks, geese, and what not—nor do the fish and other denizens of the waters which furnish a not inconsiderable part of the food of human beings, die at their hands without pain. It need create no surprise that most of those who condemn vivisection are opponents of sport, or that many advocate the use of an exclusively vegetable diet, though if cattle, sheep, fowls, &c., were no longer reared as a supply of animal food, and the profits obtainable by selling them to the butcher or the poulterer were cut off, the prices of lard, suet, butter, and other animal fats, milk, eggs, leather, wool, and other products, would in most cases increase, and the supply notably diminish.* Even, however, if vegetarianism became the universal rule, the plough turns up at every furrow multitudes of lowly living creatures which it either summarily destroys or condemns to a lingering and more painful death; nor, indeed, can anyone walk in July across a meadow without crushing out of existence hundreds of little lives. Nor is the problem by any means exclusively one of the infliction of positive pain. It also extends itself to the privation of the pleasures natural to the several species of animals, and conformable to their respective organisations and ancestral habits—to the morality, not only of caging singing birds, or, again, of collecting wild animals into zoological gardens, but of keeping the smaller carnivora as pets (of

* An eccentric lady who a few years ago was one of the most prominent agitators in this country against vivisection, condemned, on principle, shoes, bags, and other articles made of leather.

which cats and dogs are the commonest examples), especially in towns, where scarcely a vestige remains of the manner of life to which they are specially adapted, or of opportunities for the exercise of their normal activities. Beasts of burden (to mention them, if only in passing, and thereby to remind the reader that their lot also forms part of the problem) are often badly treated; but against this there is at least something to set. They have their uses; while the great majority of the cats and dogs in any large town are of no conceivable use whatever. The cats are not wanted to catch mice, for which they were needed before mouse-traps were invented, and the dogs are scarcely more serviceable as house dogs than as sheep dogs. At best, they are pets; and ordinarily they are not even this, but mere appurtenances to a household. To be petted is as a rule to be degraded. This is so whether the pet is a human being or one of the lower animals; for pets, like kings' favourites, are usually the recipients of an abundance of sentimental effusion, but of little genuine and therefore rational kindness.

Human beings (to conclude by brief reference to them this suggestive enumeration) fall equally under the common lot of having to endure physical and mental pain, and having to put up with less than the average share of free activity and gratification, neither as a punishment, nor by their own consent, nor for their individual advantage. A sickly child, an ailing wife or husband, a paralysed father, are instances in point; and among those whose means are narrow, such cases often pierce to the very quick. Even if accidents of flood and field be omitted from the account—a stone falling from a cliff, a false step or a slippery foothold, a cold wind or the noisome exhalations of a tepid swamp, the claws of a bear or the tooth of a serpent—such compulsory self-sacrifice (which is not morally self-sacrifice unless it is freely accepted and utilised from a higher motive) is demanded of, and is exacted from ourselves, not only by the convenances and bienséances of Society, but even, where necessary, by the judgments of the national tribunals. And when particular incidents of it come on the *tapis*, we have to remember, with respect to ourselves as in regard of the lower animals, that hard cases make bad laws.

Further, the gift of immortality gives us no prerogative over humbler creatures as to the irregular distribution of pleasure and pain. The contrary has, indeed, been argued.

A reason for the adoption of a belief in the immortality of the soul is [urges a modern writer]* that such a doctrine can alone reconcile the anomalies of life. This is not a reason to influence a savage, but it is a powerful one in the breast of a man of thought and feeling. He sees the lots of men unequally balanced; misery, wrong, oppression, blot the history of the past, and smear that of the present.

Inequality is everywhere :—

History paints oppression, whirling its bloody lash after man, and man in the madness of his despair flying like Orestes to the temple of God, and there sitting as a suppliant, sullen and resolute :

"There will I keep my station and wait the event of judgment."—(Æschylus, "Eumenides," 240.)

Without a belief in God, the avenger of all such as call upon Him, and a future life, in which the wicked should cease from troubling and be troubled himself in turn, man, the most down-trodden of all creatures, would wrap his mantle about his face, creep like a wounded hare into a corner, and sob himself to death.

But the anomalies to be redressed in the world to come are not the physical, but the moral. To think otherwise would be to make religion an excuse for all the brutalities and cruelties that are perpetrated by men both on man and on brutes. It would be to supply them with the justification that "if the poor are oppressed here, they are compensated hereafter, so that no injustice results in the long run;" but would leave the wounded hare, without hope of immortality, to complain of injustice from God. Nay, it might even be argued that cruelty was meritorious, because it secured more merciful judgment. We must evidently go deeper than such a very shallow answer, if we are not utterly to mis-state the problem of the world. The words which our Divine Lord puts, in a parable, into the mouth of Abraham, "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivest thy good things, and Lazarus evil things; but now here he is consoled, and thou art tormented" (Luke xvi. 25), are, on account of the context of Divine Revelation, insusceptible of being interpreted as meaning that mere and simple

* Baring-Gould, "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief." London. 1869. Vol. i., pp. 73-75.

well-being or suffering on earth, involve, apart from any moral reaction on them, contrary conditions in the after-world. The parable portrays the state of Jewish society at the time, when the increasing corruption had entangled the rich as a class, but had not yet caught the poor, as a class, within its meshes—when, in an imperialistic age, brutalism was spreading downwards, as in an age of another kind it might spread upward from below. Dives was the wealthy Sadducee, selfish, careless of the poor at his gate, incredulous of future retribution, needing to be taught it by personal experience; Lazarus, the poor Pharisee, waiting in patience for even the morsels that fell from the rich man's table. Moral good and evil arise, not directly from pain and pleasure, but indirectly from these and from other influences through the reaction of free will and of the whole moral or ethical nature. Future rewards and punishment are consequences of merit and demerit, and not merely of enduring pain or of enjoying happiness. We all of us—or at least, all of us who are not saints, which practically comes to the same thing—again and again suffer pain, bodily or mental as the case may be, and enjoy pleasures, without bringing them at the time and with corresponding vividness, and even without bringing them at all before they are forgotten, into any moral relation; and nevertheless without being blameworthy for the omission, because no one is to be blamed for what he does not think of. We have a toothache or an earache, and we merely suffer; or the weather is fine, and we enjoy it. In such cases we act only as the lower animals do. But to say that mere pain, as such, without any moral reaction, is meritorious, is to sanctify the abodes of the lost; to declare that mere happiness or blessedness by itself and independently of any other consideration ought to be recompensed by punishment, is to bring an invincible serpent into Eden, and to make God the most wicked of all existent beings. Even where a free being is made to suffer, no one can say whether the effect will be to make it turn to the source of consolation, or to harden and to brutalise. The one-sided insistence on pleasure as distinguished from duty, and on happiness as distinguished from heroism—on avoiding pain instead of moral evil, and avoiding misery instead of baseness—is one of the deepest cankers of modern life. The softness of a delicate civilisation allies itself to the long-standing

infirmities of human nature, and supplies an additional motive for neglecting duty, the claims of which are to the eyes of reason infinitely superior to those of pain and pleasure.

The answer to the problem of pleasure and pain as such (as far as any satisfactory answer can be given in our present state of existence), cannot, from what has been said above, be that these two have in equity to be compensated by counter-pain for the pleasure and by counter-pleasure for the pain; but must be some other kind. It must be largely conjectural, because these are points on which Natural Reason is obscure, and on which from the nature of the case Revelation does not enlighten us, for the general reason that it was meant as a light to our moral conduct, and was not intended to satisfy our intellectual curiosity in any other sense than that in which our intelligence ought to be satisfied (in these remote matters which are God's own peculiar province), when we are sufficiently guided to our duty. Revelation does not tell us about the inhabitants (if there are any) of the stars. We have to cultivate our own garden. As little does it inform us what the Divine Purpose is as to the pleasures and pains which are not taken up and utilised by a moral nature, but wander about the world, as it were, whether among ourselves or among the lower animals. But the most likely guess seems to be that for the lower animals (and for human beings in so far as moral good and evil does not enter into the reckoning) the balance is on the side of happiness—happiness, we must concede in the case of creatures of lowly organisation, which is of only a low order as compared with that of higher beings, but happiness still. We can fairly claim to interpret any apparent exceptions by the general rule. There are other horses besides cab-horses, and other animals besides those of the equine species. There are birds that sing in the air and in the hedgerows, and fishes that disport themselves in the seas; flocks and herds in the meadows and the prairies, and fierce hearts in the recesses of the wilderness, which also have their happiness. An old writer charmingly says:—

God's design is not abortive. It is a happy world after all. In a spring noon, or on a summer evening, on whichever side I turn my eyes, myriads of happy beings meet my view. "The insect youth are on the wing." Swarms of new-born flies are trying their pinions on the air.

Their sportive motions, their wanton mazes, their gratuitous activity, their continual change of place without use or purpose, testify their joy and the exultation which they feel in their lately discovered faculties. A bee, amongst the flowers in spring, is one of the most cheerful objects that can be looked upon. Its life appears to be all enjoyment, so busy and so pleased; yet it is only a specimen of insect life, with which, by reason of the animal being half domesticated, we happen to be better acquainted than we are with that of others.*

The pleasure, the "sensible" or sensuous happiness, of the lower races of animated creatures, is no more moral excellence than their pain is moral evil. But it is a kind of anticipatory type, a note of the same general kind, something "good," harbingering the higher good which was later to be introduced into the world.

We have now impartially (and not unjustly or untenderly as far as the lower animals are concerned) to examine the two contrasted attitudes taken up with regard to vivisection. One of these starts from the positions, to which the phraseology of the scholastic philosophy distinctly points, that the lower animals have no rights, and that to act rightly is to act reasonably. From insensible changes in the meanings of the terms, this has come to look as if it meant that whatever you do to a lower animal you can do no wrong: that you may bake or boil it alive, or tear it limb from limb, or prick a worm with pins to see how often and in what ways it will wriggle, and that nevertheless you commit no sin. Such a principle would, it is evident, suffice to justify whatever excesses of cruelty it is possible to commit on any inferior creature; and though it is soon perceived that this is by no means the intention of the writers, the manner in which they supply the necessary correction is by a modern scarcely less liable to be misapprehended; for, they declare, you must follow right reason. "What!" the reader is inclined to exclaim, "is sin, is crime, on a par with wearing one's coat inside out?" Those who retain a remembrance of nursery rhymes are aware that

There was an old man of Thermopylæ,
Who never did anything properly;
So they said, "If you choose,
Why, boil eggs in your shoes,
But you shall not remain at Thermopylæ."

* Paley, "Natural Theology," chap. xxvi.

The old gentleman's use of his shoes was unreasonable, no doubt; but was his domestic perversity a moral crime demanding the punishment of exile?

Reason here means reason considering moral distinctions. But the meanings of the terms, it is evident, have changed. The original meaning of *jus*, right, is *id quod jussum est*, that which is commanded; and every *jus* or right was in the minds of the Roman jurists, from which the phraseology was taken directly or indirectly by the canonists and the schoolmen, correlative with an *officium* or *obligatio*, or, in other words, with a duty. To say that X has a right, *e.g.*, to his property or to his life, is to say in different phraseology that Y, Z, and others have incumbent on them a duty of not appropriating the first or destroying the second. These and other rights, however, are given to him because the performance of duties is expected from him. His rights are to give him scope for his duties, and if he refuses to discharge those duties—if, for example, he takes the property or the lives of others—he may be justly deprived of his own property or of his life. Rights are the echoes of duties; and it is not only improper, but impossible, to impose on others moral obligations whose objects are beings which cannot in the nature of the case discharge moral obligations themselves. For every *quid* there must be a *quo*.

Further, in this phraseology, a duty, and consequently the right correlative to it, is imposed by some law; and a law is a general command of a legitimate superior, given for the common good. Change, then, the implications involved in the idea of law, and the ideas of right and duty are correspondingly altered. But in the Imperial Jurisprudence it was of the essence of a law that it acted not as a mere impetus or impulse, nor yet as an allurement or enticement on the one hand or a simple threat on the other; but as a command addressing itself to the intelligence, and claiming obedience on the double ground of proceeding from a legitimate superior, and having for its object the common good. As, therefore, duties are created by the operation of laws, and as laws, in so far forth as they are laws, act through the recognition, by the subjects to whom they are addressed, of the legitimate authority of the superior who enacts them and of the common good to which they are directed, it follows that (in the above sense of

law and duty) a law cannot be addressed to, or a duty be incumbent on, a being incapable of apprehending the above ideas. Hence the lower animals, whose actions proceed from mere vital spontaneity or fulness of life, or from the special stimuli of pleasure and pain, and, *a fortiori*, plants and inanimate objects, are not directly the objects of law in the above sense of law, and are incapable of duty or moral obligation as above described. And, again, a law cannot impose a moral obligation for an inadequate motive, because, if it did so, it would not be just or equitable, and would not be a law in the proper sense of the word. An obligation of the moral order cannot therefore be founded on a claim which is not also of the moral order, though this may suffice to justify a penal law, which is a law in another and inferior sense of the word law, and draws after it an *obligatio mene pœnalis*.* But in a lower animal, considered purely and simply in itself, there is nothing which is truly and properly of the moral order. Being merely a creature of simple or associated pleasures and pains, and incapable of even understanding what is meant by law or by moral obligation, it has no moral obligations incumbent on it; and as rights are given by law as the correlatives of such obligations, it has, *per se*, and considered in itself, no rights.

This, then, is the meaning of the statement that "Animals have no Rights;" but it is not even in the most remote manner implied thereby that no rights possessed by other beings favourably touch or affect them. For, in the first place, God, not indeed as the subject, but as the author of Law, possesses rights—possesses, indeed, the Supreme Legislative Authority by which all moral obligations and all creaturely rights are created; and though, in the phraseology which has been explained in the preceding paragraph, animals cannot be said to possess rights in themselves, yet in their faculties and capacities of pleasure and pain they have a *fundamentum in re* for moral obligations in us, when they are considered not

* By a Penal Law is meant an ordinance which does not address itself to the conscience of the community, but to its susceptibilities with respect to pleasure and pain, *i.e.*, the essence of it is *not* that whoever disobeys it will do what is morally wrong, *but* that if he is found out he will be punished. Unjust taxation affords an example. If any one has already contributed his full share to the public expenditure, he is not *per se* bound in conscience to give more; though he may be chastised not with whips, but with scorpions, if he is discovered to have evaded unjust exactions.

isolatedly, by themselves, or apart from every other consideration, but in connection with the whole scheme of nature, as sharers of the world with us, as an integral part of the creation of God, and themselves the work of His hands. "Thou shalt not," directs the Mosaic Law, teaching, as usual, by examples, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." Nothing even suggesting barbarity was to be done, for "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." Even among little considered creatures "Not one of them falls to the ground without your Father." God "made" and "preserves" "both man and beast." "They wait upon Him, that He may give them their food in due season." Even if we did not already know it by the light of nature, we might have learnt from Revelation that "He loves all that He has made." "The merciful man regards the life of," is merciful to, "his beast," and, in connection with this, only "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."* If, on the other hand, we regard the lower animals in their relations with man, there is in human nature a divinely implanted principle of moral benevolence, which has for its principal object the moral good of others, but also prompts to the giving of pleasure where this is not counter-indicated by some mischief which would result from it, and prohibits the *gratuitous* infliction of pain. And this, being a principle of well-wishing as such and therefore without restriction, extends to whatever we can help or benefit, and consequently overflows on the more lowly sentient creatures which are with us in the world. For these two reasons they

* Deut. xxv. 4; xiv. 21; Matth. xii. 29; Ps. xxxv. [xxxvi.] 6; Jer. xxvii. 5; Ps. ciii. [civ.] 27; Wisdom, xi. 25; Prov. xii. 10; and parallel passages. No attentive reader of Holy Scripture needs to be more than reminded how full of fellow-feeling it is with the inferior creation; it extends human sympathy to them not only by authoritative dogmas, as, that all things alike were made by God; but by innumerable little touches: and this in spite of the cruelty of the ancient world not only to animals but to human beings, and in spite of the fact that sympathy was wanted more for and could begin only with man. The love of animals is by the nature of the case a later lesson than the love of man. "He," says St. John, "who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (1 Jo. iv. 20). On the same principle, "He, who does not love mankind, with whom he is more intimately allied, how can he love lower creatures with which as a man his association is more remote?" A tame sparrow, or a pampered hound, may divert our sympathies from their principal and most useful course. But "Each in its own order," as St. Paul says in another connection; the aberration is abnormal and injurious. For whatever is wasted on a pet lap-dog, some human sufferer has to suffer more.

have claims on us which are analogous to rights and have been called "Analogical Rights."

On these accounts, it is accepted on all hands that the gratuitous infliction of pain is morally evil. Whoever gives pain for nothing will have to answer for it, if (that is to say) he acted with knowledge and advertence on the part of the intellect, and with freedom and deliberation on the part of the will. The culpability is on general moral principles proportionate to the magnitude or quantity of the pain uncompensated. This, if only pain has to be weighed on the other scale of the balance, is again proportionate to its severity, its duration, its certainty, and its existence (*i.e.*, the number of persons, or beings other than persons, to whom or to which it extends). A pain or an assemblage of pains of such and such a nett severity—*i.e.*, of such and such a severity after pleasures which are connected with it and other pains which hang together with it have been allowed for—is evidently twice as great an evil if it lasts for twice the time. Of two pains, one which is a certainty (like that inflicted, if any is inflicted, in a physiological experiment) lies twice as heavy in the balance as another of which the probability is only $\frac{1}{2}$, or an even chance, and a pain or complexus of pains which affects two beings is, *ceteris paribus*, twice as grave as one which affects only one. Similarly of the withdrawal or privation of pleasure, which (as we have seen) may be and continually is balanced against the endurance of pain. What, then, is cruelty? It is, from the point of view of pain and pleasure, which alone we are here for the moment considering, the gratuitous infliction of pain.

Suppose we could numerically count up the factors—the severity (or in the case of a pleasure, the intensity), the duration, the certainty or probability, and the extent—of the nett pain-weight of an aggregate of pains inflicted on other beings, and they amounted to sixty; and if we could also numerically reckon up the nett pain-weight of the pains avoided to other beings, and they amounted only to twenty: the objective cruelty, the overplus or uncompensated or gratuitous pain, would be forty. In such a case the infliction of the pain would be morally evil in a person who realised the state of the case. He would be guilty of cruelty, or, in other words, of so acting as to increase the total amount of gratuitous suffering in the

world. Suppose, on the other hand, that the pain-weight of suffering inflicted was sixty, and that saved or avoided 100, whoever refused to inflict the pain would be guilty of cruelty to the same extent of forty. He would by his refusal be permitting (and, as we have seen, there is here no difference between permission and commission) the total amount of pain to be augmented by forty. In giving this example it is not, of course, meant that we human beings can numerically reckon up these sensation-values. A being with higher faculties would be able to do so. We are capable only of forming rough estimates. But what it is hereby attempted to illustrate is the principle of the thing; which is, that it depends on the inutility or utility of physiological experimentation whether "vivisectionists" or "anti-vivisectionists" are guilty of the sin of cruelty. What the verdict of those best entitled to judge of the utility or inutility of physiological experiments really is has been already recited. Let it be well remembered that it is quite as possible to be cruel by refusing to inflict immediate pain or to allow it to be inflicted as by inflicting it. A father, for instance, has a child who is suffering from a diseased bone in the leg. His imagination revolts from the very suggestion of the operation which alone would effect a cure; from the bleeding, the cutting, the punching or excision of the bone, the stitching, the pus, and the dressings. He thereby condemns his own child to years, it may be, of misery, or to death. If he knows what he is doing, what is he but abominably cruel? If he does not realise the genuine character of his conduct, what is the predominant tendency of the present age to which he belongs? Is it to inflict suffering directly? Is it not rather to inflict it indirectly, by refusing, as anti-vivisectionists refuse, to cause it in a direct manner?

But though the question is only one of pleasure and pain when it is posed as between one lower animal and another, it puts on an altogether different aspect when it is asked with a reference to man. Even if we (very artificially) limit ourselves to the mere comparison of human pains with the pains of brutes,* the two are not the same thing, but human pain

* Here, and elsewhere in this paper, the terms "brute" and "beast" are employed only for variation of phraseology, to avoid the iteration, which the subject would otherwise involve, of "animal" and "lower animal." No bye-

has, even as pain, ulterior implications which brute-pain has not. Besides, it means more than pain even in this temporal sphere. It carries with it, as a rule, incapacity for the duties of life; and this means wasted lives, ruined homes, neglected children, friends alienated by the petulance of the sick, lessened good, fears for the temporal and spiritual future of others, broken hopes, temptations to despair, hereditary disease, the decay of families, of nations; none of which, except in a very inferior and analogical way, can exist in the lower animals. Nor, as some at least of these examples will have shown, is it solely or even principally a question of pain; but is one of understanding better the laws of life, and of applying the knowledge to the moral benefit of whole generations to come.

On what theories, then, do the lower animals possess Rights in any other than the analogical sense defended in a previous paragraph? On two theories, one of which exaggerates their status into an essential equality with that of human beings, while the other degrades ourselves to the animal level. The first has already been briefly, but sufficiently, discussed. It is that which supposes that the brutes have a knowledge of right, wrong, duty, law, God, as man has; and is seldom held by solid-headed men or women. The second, which is called Hedonism or Eudaemonism (from the Greek *ἡδονή*, *hedoné*, pleasure, and *εὐδαιμονία*, *eudaimonia*, happiness), is that the good and evil of human actions are merely other names for their power of producing pleasure and pain. On this theory, whatever gives pleasure is right, and is right in proportion to the pleasure which it gives, and whatever gives pain is wrong; not because of any prior considerations of benevolence or of cruelty, but because according to the theory right means pleasure-producing, and the only meaning of wrong is "productive of pain." The determining principle in conformity to which anything is to be pronounced bad or good is the balance of pain and pleasure, and pleasures are to be reckoned as higher or lower solely in proportion as they are more or less agreeable to the being by whom, or by which, they are

meaning of contempt or depreciation is intended to be conveyed by them. *Brutum antiqui gravem dicebant*, says Festus: the brute is simply the heavy matter, the *βαρὺ τι*, not worked up, as it were, to the fineness and delicacy of human nature; and *bestia* has the same general meaning.

enjoyed, and not from any higher motives. This theory (according to which all sentient beings are of course essentially on the same footing as far as right and wrong are concerned) has been set forth under two forms. On one of these, which is called Utilitarianism, what we ought to consider is the greatest happiness of the greatest number, or, to put it less ambiguously, the greatest happiness, no matter who has it—meaning by happiness, largest sum-total of nett pleasure, everything considered. This, however, is immediately analysable into the other form, the form called the Selfish Theory; for if we are to go on a mere pain and pleasure basis, what are the pleasures of others to me, except in so far as they affect myself? Utilitarians urge “if you do not consider others, they will punish you.” Those of the second party reply: “Not unless I get found out.” But it is needless to enter into the details of the discussion. The essence of the matter is that, in agreement with the tendencies of modern life, pleasure and pain are substituted for moral good and evil, and that, this being so, Utilitarians are the principal patrons of “Animal’s Rights.”*

The common anti-vivisectionist position is egoism turned upside down: that though *we* have to suffer not as a punishment, and independently of our own consent, for the benefit of others, the lower animals should be exempted. Pain is in it confounded with moral evil; rights are dislocated from their moral basis; Utilitarianism, or the greatest happiness principle, is turned against humanity; and the sensitiveness to pain and pleasure which is a new thing in the history of mankind, is attributed even to the lower creation. For the last three hundred years—in fact, ever since the discovery of the East and the West Indies—the intelligence of mankind has been increasingly applied to the enhancement of pleasures and the avoidance of pains. We have become proportionately sensitive both to the one and to the other. Pain-saving and labour-saving inventions have been multiplied; anæsthetics and anodynes have been introduced; the steady comforts of

* If the Utilitarian position was only that we ought so to act as to promote the greatest common happiness, it would of course be entirely commendable. But the case is altogether changed when it is added that our motive in doing so is to be mere pleasure and pain.

ordinary life have grown upon us ; tea and coffee and spices and silk have been brought to our shores ; and the world has been ransacked to find a new odour, a new taste, a fresh colour, an additional timbre or modulation of sound. No one not extraordinarily unwise would suppose that this would be without effect on our tone of thought, on our philosophy, and even on our theology. And the effect has come. Pleasure is confounded with moral good ; and the infliction of pain, even for ultimately good and useful purposes, is shrunk from with abhorrence, and is even qualified as a crime. What the ulterior consequences will be can only be conjectured. But I will conclude by laying before the reader the opinion of one who was himself a Utilitarian ; and though I cannot say "Amen" to every phrase, I will not for that reason dock or clip our extract :

One of the effects of civilization (not to say one of the ingredients in it) is, that the spectacle, and even the very idea, of pain, is kept more and more out of the sight of those classes who enjoy in their fulness the benefits of civilization. The state of perpetual personal conflict, rendered necessary by the circumstances of former times, and which it was hardly possible for any person, in whatever rank of society, to be exempt, necessarily habituated every one to the spectacle of harshness, rudeness, and violence, to the struggle of one indomitable will against another, and to the alternate suffering and infliction of pain. These things, consequently, were not as revolting to the best and most actively benevolent men of former days as they are to our own ; and we find the recorded conduct of these men frequently such as would be universally considered very unfeeling in a person of our own day. They, however, thought less of the infliction of pain, because they thought less of pain altogether. When we read of actions of the Greeks and Romans, or of our own ancestors, denoting callousness to human suffering, we must not think that those who committed these actions were as cruel as we must become before we could do the like. The pain which they inflicted they were in the habit of voluntarily undergoing from slight causes ; it did not appear to them so great an evil as it appears, and as it really is, to us, nor did it in any way degrade their minds. In our own time, the necessity of personal collision between one person and another is, comparatively speaking, almost at an end. All those necessary portions of the business of society which oblige any person to be the immediate agent or the ocular witness of the infliction of pain, are delegated by common consent to peculiar and narrow classes : to the judge, the soldier, the surgeon, the butcher, and the executioner. To most persons in easy circumstances almost any pain, except that inflicted upon the body by accident or disease, and upon the mind by the inevitable sorrows of life, is rather a thing known

of than actually experienced. This is much more emphatically true in the more refined classes, and as refinement advances ; for it is in avoiding the presence not only of actual pain, but of whatever suggests offensive or disagreeable ideas, that a great part of refinement consists. We may remark, too, that this is possible only by a perfection of mechanical arrangements impracticable in any but a high state of civilization. Now, most kinds of pain and annoyance appear much more unendurable to those who have little experience of them, than to those who have much. The consequence is that, compared with former times, there is in the more opulent classes of modern civilized communities much more of the amiable and humane, and much less of the heroic. The heroic essentially consists in being ready, for a worthy object, to do and to suffer, but especially to do, what is painful or disagreeable ; and whoever does not learn early to be capable of this, will never be a great character. There has crept over the refined classes, over the whole class of gentlemen in England, a moral effeminacy, an inaptitude for every kind of struggle. They shrink from all effort, and from everything which is troublesome and disagreeable. The same causes which render them sluggish and unenterprising, make them, it is true, for the most part, stoical under inevitable evils. But heroism is an active, not a passive quality ; and when it is necessary not to bear pain but to seek it, little need be expected from the men of the present day. They cannot undergo labour, they cannot brook ridicule, they cannot brave evil tongues ; they have not the hardihood to say an unpleasant thing to any one whom they are in the habit of seeing, or to face, even with a nation at their back, the coldness of some little coterie which surrounds them. This torpidity and cowardice, as a general characteristic, is new in the world ; but (modified by the different temperaments of different nations) it is a natural consequence of the progress of civilization, and will continue until met by a system of civilization adapted to counteract it.—J. S. Mill, "Dissertations and Discussions." London, 1859. Vol. i., pp. 179–181.

ROBERT F. CLARKE.

ART. VI.—THE PRE-REFORMATION ENGLISH BIBLE.

FOR some years now duty has taken me almost daily through the King's Library at the British Museum. There—reposing on cushions of purple velvet, in a spacious shrine of polished oak, marked “number 1”—is a large and handsome manuscript volume written in the fourteenth century,* which rightly attracts the attention of many visitors. I have frequently stopped on my way past this case to admire the well-written page with its painted border, and again and again I have read and re-read this legend, inscribed on a card below: *The English Bible, Wycliffe's translation.* Passing this interesting book, as I did often many times a day, I conceived a desire to know something more about it, and so taking advantage of an hour, free from other occupations, I wrote a request for a personal interview in the students' room, and a few minutes later had the pleasure of finding the manuscript at my desk there. The present article is really the result of a train of researches and considerations started at that interview.

I suppose most of us have been taught to regard with feelings of some awe, although hardly perhaps with much reverence, the strange personality of Wyclif. Whatever we may hold as Catholics as to his unsound theological opinions, about which there can be no doubt; or as peace-loving citizens about his wild and revolutionary social theories, on which there can be still less, few of us I fancy would venture to grudge him the credit which rightly attaches to what is known *par excellence* as his work—the translation of the Bible into the English language—or to deny him the title of “Father of English prose” thereby so justly earned. Why should he not have all his due, morning star as he is of the glorious “Reformation”? Is it not written in all our school books and taught to every child that the first vernacular translation of God's word was conceived and carried into execution by this same John Wyclif

* Egerton MSS., 617, 618.

in the fourteenth century? As an instance of what is believed on all hands upon this matter, we may conveniently take the account given by Mr. F. D. Matthew in his Preface to the *English Works of Wyclif*, published by the *Early English Text Society*:

Of Wyclif's other religious task, the translation of the Bible, I need say little (he writes); its consequences to English religion and to the English tongue are generally recognised. We have but to look at the long list of MSS., given at the beginning of Forshall and Madden's great edition (170), and to remember that these are but the gleanings, after time, neglect and the zeal of the inquisitor have gathered in their harvests, and we see how widely the translation was disseminated and how eagerly men caught at the opportunity of reading the Bible in their mother tongue.*

Moreover, beyond the fact of Wyclif's connection with this great work, as here stated, the actual circumstances under which the task was in the end accomplished are not unfrequently related with considerable detail. Take, for example, the following given in a book on the Bible placed on the shelves of the reference library in the Museum: Wyclif's

translation, which was finished in the year 1380, is supposed to have occupied him amidst various interruptions for many years (writes the author). Some have imagined that this great work employed the translator for ten years only, but Mr. Barber with far greater probability has said: "From an early period of his life he had devoted his various learning and all the powerful energies of his mind to effect this, and at length by intense application on his own part, and with some assistance from a few of the most learned of his followers, he had the glory to complete a book, which alone would have been sufficient (or at least ought) to have procured him the veneration of his own age and the commendations of posterity."†

The same story is told by our masters in the literature of this country:

We hear of it in the fourteenth century, this grand word of God writes M. Taine). It quitted the learned schools, the dead languages, the dusty shelves on which the clergy suffered it to sleep, covered with a confusion of commentators and fathers. Wyclif appeared and translated it like Luther and in a spirit similar to Luther's.‡

* P. xvii.

† Christopher Anderson, "Annals of the English Bible," Introduction, p. xxxvii.

‡ Taine, "History of English Literature," i. p. 166.

Nor is this implicit belief in the intimate connection between the pre-Reformation translation of the Bible and the so-called "reformer" of the fourteenth century, confined to non-Catholic writers. Whatever may have been the case with our earlier chroniclers and historians, in modern days it is generally accepted. Lingard, for example, in his "History" under the reign of Richard II., states that :

Wyclif made a new translation (of the sacred writings), multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his poor priests recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power.

A similar statement will also be found in that useful book "The Catholic Dictionary."

We may take it then that the *fact* of Wyclif's connection with the first translation of the Holy Bible into English is generally, if not universally, accepted as true. I wonder how many there are out of the hundreds that annually visit the old parish church of Lutterworth, who venture to criticise even the evidence which is offered to them there? At the west end of Wyclif's old parish church may still be seen a venerable oaken table, supported by heraldic lions holding scrolls, which the credulous visitor is told represent the Scriptures. At this table sat Wyclif, when now more than five centuries ago, he was engaged in the great work of popularising the Word of God—at least so said the venerable verger, and I have little doubt that on his testimony thousands of eyes have regarded this relic with becoming awe and reverence.

Over and above this full and implicit belief in Wyclif's connection with the English Bible, there can be no doubt that most people are inclined to think, with my friend the Lutterworth parish clerk, that so determined were the English ecclesiastical authorities to prevent the laity having the Scripture in the vernacular, that poor Wyclif's troubles were entirely due to his determination to furnish his countrymen with God's word at all costs; and that during the next century or more his Lollard followers were hunted down and done to death chiefly, if not altogether, for endeavouring to spread their master's translated Scriptures.

Now what are we to believe on the matter? My purpose in this article is simply to examine into what we really know

on this question. To some the very existence of the numerous manuscript copies of the English Scriptures will be accounted sufficient evidence of Wyclif's handiwork, just as the rocks in the valley were to Herodotus proofs of the truth of the legend that the Gods had hurled them from the heights above. But "I know it to be true, for I have seen the rocks," is evidence of a character which, let us hope, is likely to satisfy few in these days of scientific investigation.

The chief points for our consideration then may be stated thus:

1. On what evidence is the first English translation of the Bible, or any part of it, ascribed to Wyclif?

2. What had Wyclif's immediate followers or later adherents to say to the composition of the work or to its spread among the people generally?

3. What prohibitions, if any, existed against the vernacular translations of the Sacred Scriptures in the Church in England? And

4. Is there any evidence for thinking that an orthodox Catholic vernacular version ever existed?

At the outset of any inquiry into the connection between Wyclif and the first English Bible, it is not unimportant to recall the warning given by Professor Shirley not too readily to credit the Reformer with any English work of the period. "Half the English religious tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," he, writes in the Introduction to the *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, "have been assigned to him in the absence of all external, and in defiance of all internal evidence."* That this is really the case cannot for a moment be doubted by any one who has made a personal examination of the tracts written at this period. For a very long time past it has been quite sufficient that a pious tract of that age be in English, for it to be at once and unhesitatingly ascribed to Wyclif or one of his followers. It is perhaps hardly wonderful that this should be the case when the position occupied by Wyclif at this period in the history of England be taken into account. His was perhaps the most striking figure at a time when English began to be the language of the nation. We are

* Introduction, p. xiii.

apt to forget the fact that till past the middle of the fourteenth century French was actually the language of the Court and of the educated classes generally. Only in 1363, for the first time, was the sitting of Parliament opened by an English speech, and in the previous year only had it been enacted that the pleadings in the courts of law might be in English in place of the French which had hitherto been the legal language ; but even then the record of the proceedings was still to be in Latin. French, however, continued for almost a century longer to be the language of the upper classes, and in it were written the rolls of Parliament, and such wills and deeds which were not in Latin. An explanation of this retention of the French language is of course to be found in the circumstances of the time. Before the era of Wyclif consequently all who were able to read at all, could readily find in the Latin version of the Holy Scriptures, or in such French versions as existed in England, what they required.

Such, then, is the very simple explanation of the non-existence of any English translation of the entire Bible before the time when Wyclif came upon the scene. In the first half of the fourteenth century probably the only entire book of Scripture which had appeared in English prose was the book of Psalms translated by Richard Rolle, who died in 1349. This work he undertook at the request of Dame Margaret Kirkby, a recluse at Hampole. At the same time probably another translation of the Psalms was made by William de Schorham, a priest of Chart Sutton, near Leeds, in the county of Kent, about 1320.

Besides these, however, there were the metrical paraphrases of Genesis and Exodus, the *Ormulum* or poetical version of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, the work of an Augustinian canon called Orm, and more than one metrical translation of the Psalms, approaching almost to a literal translation, all productions of the thirteenth century. It is, moreover, of interest to remark that after the Norman Conquest, whilst the wants of the educated class were satisfied by the Norman-French translations, "the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels was copied as late as the twelfth century."*

* E. M. Thompson, Wycliffe Exhibition (British Museum), p. xvii.

Meagre as is the evidence then of vernacular versions of the Sacred Scriptures in England previous to the close of the first half of the fourteenth century, it is sufficient to show that the idea did not originate with Wyclif, and was not the outcome of his movement. The simple fact being that it was not until his era that the need for vernacular versions became pressing; or, indeed, until at that time the undoubted establishment of the supremacy of English as the national language became assured. The so-called Reformer of the fourteenth century was fortunate in the time in which he lived, so far as this is concerned; and, if to have ascribed to one much that does not of right belong is to be accounted as good fortune, then Wyclif was indeed greatly blessed in being a great personality in an age when pens began to be busy on English tracts and English translations. Because for this sole reason, as Mr. Maunde Thompson, the principal librarian of the British Museum, well observes, "it is not surprising that much has been ascribed to him which is due to writers whose names have died."

It will perhaps be thought that this can hardly with any possibility be the case in respect to so important a matter as the translation of the Bible into English. Yet what as a fact do we know about it? In the first place, the tendency to ascribe to Wyclif what clearly is not his is directly illustrated in regard to Biblical literature. The commentary on the Apocalypse, which probably dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, and those on the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Luke, and John, were all believed to be the works of his pen, "although recent criticism has rejected his claim to the authorship."* It is also, I believe, very questionable whether the translation of Clement of Lanthony's Harmony of the Gospels, known as *One of Four*, was Wyclif's work at all, as is often asserted. The version differs from the received Wycliffite text, and the only reason apparently for ascribing it to him is the existence in one copy of an Introduction, in which the practice of reading the Scripture used in the Church services in English after the Latin is defended. The most that can be said is that *possibly* Wyclif may have been the translator, although there exists no evidence that such was the case.

* Thompson, *ut sup.* p. xvii.

Passing now to the translation of the Bible itself, it will probably be a surprise to many to learn that only "the New Testament portion," as Mr. Maunde Thompson has pointed out, can be said even "probably" to be due "to the hand of Wycliffe himself." The rest it is tolerably certain owes nothing to his pen. Of the second, or revised version of the whole Scriptures, the same high authority says: "Wyclif himself, who above others would be conscious of defects, *may* have commenced the work of revision. He did not, however, live to see it accomplished."* So far then as Wyclif personally is concerned, the New Testament portion of the version, which goes under his name, is all that can be said even as *probably* his work. The part taken by Wyclif's immediate followers will be treated of later; but first it is well clearly to understand upon what evidence even the probability of Wyclif's having had anything to do with the translation of the New Testament is based.

The Introduction to the edition of the Wycliffite Scriptures by Messrs. Forshall and Madden may be taken as gathering together every particle of evidence on the matter. The learned editors, by the way, hold like Mr. Thompson, that only the Gospels can with any probability be assigned to Wyclif himself. The evidence for this conclusion is practically the following:

1. John Hus, writing in Bohemia against the Carmelite John Stokes, about 1411, says: "It is reported among the English that he (*i.e.*, Wyclif) translated the whole Bible from Latin into English."† It is now allowed by all that there is not even a probability that he did anything of the kind.

2. Henry Knyghton, the Canon of Leicester, complains that Wyclif had made the Gospel cheap and common "by translating it from Latin into English."

3. In a letter addressed by Archbishop Arundel and his suffragans of the Province of Canterbury to Pope John XXIII. it is certainly implied that Wyclif at least propagated his errors against the Christian faith by the aid of new translations of Holy writ.

On the other hand, it is difficult to account for the silence of Wyclif himself, who in none of his undoubted writings, so

* Thompson, *ut sup.* p. xix.

† Hus, *Historia et Monumenta*, ed. 1558, p. cvii.

far as I am aware, lays any stress on, or, indeed, in any way advocates having the Scriptures in the vernacular; except in so far as he claims that the Bible is the sole guide in faith and practice for all.

Equally difficult is it to explain the silence of contemporaries generally; for with the exceptions given, though many have written very fully about Wyclif and his errors, not one has noticed any connection between him and the English translations of the Holy Scriptures. This is true even of his chief adversaries who attack him so freely, and whose works against him are so full, so complete, and so voluminous. Neither Woodford, nor Walden, nor Whethamstede so much as refer to Wyclif's translations, or to any special desire upon his part to circulate God's word in English among the people. On a review of all the circumstances, however—and, although I do not think it impossible to explain Knighton as meaning that the English version of the Sacred Scriptures of which he, as a personal opinion, strongly disapproved was accountable for the spread of erroneous opinions—I am inclined to think that there is some ground for holding that Wyclif may possibly have had a share in some translation of the New Testament. The ground, I must confess, is not very firm or certain, and from what we know of Wyclif's active, restless, and combative disposition, and of his particularly speculative turn of mind, we should hardly have been disposed to assign to him so tedious a task as that of mere translation.

We can now pass to the second point to be considered in regard to this matter—namely, What had Wyclif's immediate followers to say to the translation of the Bible? We may conveniently again take Mr. Maunde Thompson's account as expressing what is known, or rather conjectured, on this subject. It will be noticed how extremely vague and uncertain the information at hand really is:

In this (*i.e.*, the translation of the Old Testament into English; he writes), which was probably the work of Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe's most ardent followers at Oxford, the Latin was rendered too literally, to the disadvantage of the English translation. Two MSS. of the Old Testament which are preserved in the Bodleian Library are of the greatest value for the history of the Wycliffite version. For one of these is the original MS. of the translator; and the other, which is transcribed from it, has a note at the end assigning the work to Hereford.

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It is remarkable that both MSS. break off abruptly in Baruch, iii. 20. Hence it may be inferred that the translator was interrupted in his work and never resumed it. When we remember that Hereford was summoned before the Synod in 1382, and that soon after he left England to appeal to Rome, we may fairly conjecture that it was at that date that he suddenly ceased from his labours. The remaining portion of the Old Testament may have been finished by Wycliffe himself. The whole of the Bible therefore (?) was probably completed by the end of the year 1382.

This so far regards the earlier of the two translations which now go under the name of the Wycliffite Scriptures. If the note ascribing the version to Nicholas Hereford is, as Forshall and Madden testify, practically contemporary, it certainly furnishes us with strong evidence that Hereford had a main hand in the translation of the Old Testament. The English version of the Psalms, it may be remarked, was certainly founded on that of Hampole. It is of interest consequently to know something more of this Nicholas Hereford. He was a Doctor of Divinity of Queen's College, Oxford, and with many other members of the University he, in the beginning of the Wycliffite movement, took the side of the Reformer, and was cited to appear before the London Synod in 1382. Having been excommunicated for holding dangerous opinions, he appealed to the Pope; but in 1391 he received letters of protection from the king, and three years later his character as a true son of the Church was so clearly established that he received the office of Chancellor in the Diocese of Hereford, and subsequently also became Treasurer. In 1417, however, he resigned his dignities and became a Carthusian monk in the Coventry Charterhouse, where he died. So far then and no further does the evidence take us as to the first translation.

Of the second or revised version, Mr. Thompson gives the following account:

A revised version was undertaken probably soon after. The difference in style between the Old and New Testaments was unsatisfactory, and Wycliffe himself, who above others would be conscious of defects, may have commenced the work of revision. He did not, however, live to see it accomplished. It was carried to a successful issue by John Purvey, his disciple and the friend of his last days, and was given to the world probably about the year 1388.*

* Thompson, *ut sup.* p. xix.

Now I believe that practically the only direct evidence to connect Purvey with this translation is the fact that his name appears in a single copy of the revision as a former owner. Like Hereford, Purvey was an ardent follower of Wyclif, and lived with him at Lutterworth during the later years of his life. In 1400 Purvey made a public recantation of his opinions at St. Paul's, and he subsequently appears to have held ecclesiastical preferment. He was a man apparently of great ability, and Walden, the chief English opponent of the Wycliffites, speaks of him as "an illustrious doctor of great authority."

There is one circumstance about this second translation which, according to the received idea, was inspired by Wyclif, even if he did not actively assist in the commencement of it, that requires notice. In some few copies there exists a lengthy prologue which gives an account of the method employed by the translator. Since whatever the author says of these methods, is borne out in the actual version, there is no room for doubting, as Henry Wharton long ago observed, that the prologues and the translation are by the same hand.

For these reasons and other (wrote the author of the preface), with common charity to save all men in our realm which God will have saved, a simple creature hath translated the Bible out of Latin into English. First the simple creature had much travail with divers fellows and helpers to gather many old Bibles, and other doctors and common glosses, and to make one Latin Bible some deal true; and then to study it off the new text with the gloss and other doctors as he might get and specially *Lyra** on the Old Testament that helped him full much in this work; the third time to counsel with old grammarians and old divines of hard words and hard senses how they might best be understood and translated; the fourth time to translate as clearly as he could to the sense and to have many good fellows and cunning at the correcting of the translation.

It would seem tolerably certain from the above extract that the writer had no knowledge of any previous translation, and this is quite inconsistent with the idea that it was the work of one so intimately connected with Wyclif as Purvey was; that is always supposing that Wyclif had any part in the first version. It is hardly likely, moreover, that the author of the second version, were he an ardent follower of Wyclif, would

* At the top of fol. 1, Royal MS., i. C. ix., is the note "Here beginneth ye bible playnly the text: and where that eny maner clause is set in ye text and is not thereof Lire certifieth it plainly."

have manifested such scrupulous care to give the meaning of Holy Writ according to the interpretation of approved "doctors and common glosses."

We may now turn our attention to a brief consideration of the attitude of the English ecclesiastical authorities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries towards a vernacular translation. It might seem unnecessary, perhaps, in these enlightened days to say much upon this; but the same old stories are being repeated almost daily, and writers of various kinds still indulge themselves in the congenial task of embellishing cherished traditions without caring to inquire too particularly, or for that matter at all, into the grounds of their belief. I have already referred to this attitude of mind, and I may here take as an example the writer of an article in the latest edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica":

The work of translating the Holy Scriptures (he says) assumed important dimensions mainly in connection with the spirit of revolt against the Church of Rome, which rose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The study of the Bible in the vulgar tongue was a characteristic of the Cathari and Waldenses, and the whole weight of the Church's authority was turned against the use of the Scriptures by the laity. The prohibition of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, put forth at the Council of Toulouse in A.D. 1229, was repeated by other councils in various parts of the Church, but failed to quell the rising interest in the Scriptures. In England and in Bohemia the Bible was translated by the reforming parties of Wyclif and Huss; and the early presses of the fifteenth century sent forth Bibles not only in Latin, but in French, Spanish, Italian, German and Dutch.

We are, of course, concerned chiefly with England; but it may be useful to remark upon the misleading tendency of this passage from the "Encyclopædia." It has been shown beyond the possibility of doubt that in Germany there existed in the Middle Ages some seventy-two partial versions of the vernacular Scriptures and fifty complete translations, all emanating from Catholic sources. The same numerous translations existed also in France, with this difference, that, whilst most of the French manuscripts are *livres de luxe*, in Germany they appear to be small volumes, which point to their use as aids to personal piety rather than as books for mere library use. The same may also be said of the printed editions. France, Spain, and even Italy, each had editions of the vernacular Scriptures.

in the fifteenth century, as some of the earliest efforts of their national printing presses. In Germany, indeed, no fewer than seventeen such editions existed before the time of Luther, and still people may yet be found who cling to the old fable of the accidental finding of the Bible by the so-called German reformer; the truth being that there is ample evidence to show that in making his translation of the Scriptures he had before him and was actually using one of these Catholic versions.

If England did not possess a pre-Reformation printed Bible this was due to circumstances to which I shall have to refer later. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that its place was supplied by the extremely popular "Golden Legend," which contained nearly the whole of the Pentateuch and the Gospel narrative in English, and which was issued from the press by Caxton before the close of the fifteenth century.

As to the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities in England towards the translated Scriptures, it is believed on all hands, apparently, that it was uncompromisingly hostile. To judge from our ordinary history books we should certainly conclude that what Mr. Matthew calls "the zeal of the inquisitor" prevented any large circulation of the newly translated word of God. Yet a strange fact confronts us at the outset: the number of manuscript copies of English Bibles extant, hardly falls short of that of the German and French vernacular translations, which it is admitted were allowed. It has, I believe, been hitherto taken for granted without sufficient examination that the authority of the Church in this country was directed not merely to discourage the reading of the Bible in English, but absolutely to forbid the making of any translation whatever. But what, again, are the facts? As a proof of this distinct prohibition of the English Church, a constitution of the Council of Oxford in A.D. 1408 under Archbishop Arundel is usually relied upon. This is what the council has to say upon the matter:

It is dangerous, as Saint Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things. We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate the text of Holy Scripture into English or any other language as a book, booklet or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet or tract of this kind lately made in the time of the said John Wyclif or since, or

that hereafter may be made either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of excommunication until *such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place, or (if need be) by the Provincial Council.* He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error.

Now it is obvious from the words of the decree that in this there is no such absolute prohibition as is generally represented. All that the fathers of the Synod of Oxford forbade was unauthorised translations. The fact that no mention is made of any Wycliffite translation of the entire Bible is not without its significance, and in view of the Lollard errors then prevalent and of the ease with which the text of Holy Scripture could be modified in the translation in any and every MS., so as apparently to be made to support those views, the ordinance appears not only prudent and just, but necessary. Even when the introduction of printing at last rendered it possible to secure that all copies should be identical, the version had still to be authorised. Beyond this safeguarding of the text the words of the decree seem to imply that proper authorisation might be obtained, and even that an official vernacular version of the Bible was seriously contemplated.

In this sense, there can be no doubt, the Constitution of Oxford was understood by those whom at the time it concerned. The great canonist Lyndewode in his gloss upon this passage says that the prohibition does not extend to translations of the Scripture made before the time of Wyclif, and he assigns the following as a reason why more recent translations must be approved, that :

Although it be the plain text of Sacred Scripture that is so translated, the translator may yet err in his translation, or if he compose a book, booklet, or tract, he may, as in fact frequently happens, intermingle false and erroneous teaching with the truth.

Sir Thomas More takes the same view, and specially denies that the church authorities in England had ever prohibited the making of English translations of the Bible or the reading of such when made.

For as much (he writes) as it is dangerous to translate the text of Scripture out of one tongue into another, as Holy St. Jerome testifyeth, for as much as in translation it is hard always to keep the same sentence (*i.e.*, sense) whole. It is, I say, for these causes at a counsayle holden at

Oxenford provided upon great pain, that no man should from thenceforth translate into the English tongue, or any other language, of his own authority, by way of book, libellus or treatise, nor no man openly, or secretly, read any such book, &c., *newly made* in the time of the said John Wiclif or since, &c., until such should be approved. And this is a law that so many so long have spoken of, and so few have in all this while sought to seek (or find out) whether they say the truth or no. For I trow that in this law you see nothing unreasonable. For it neither forbiddeth the translations to be read that were *already well done of old before* Wyclif's days, nor damneth his because it was new, but because it was naught; nor prohibiteth new to be made, but provideth that they shall not be read if they be made amiss, till they be by good examination amended.

In a subsequent place the same authority says again that :

When the clergy, in the Constitution Provincial before mentioned, agreed that the English Bibles should remain, which were translated afore Wyclif's days, they consequently did agree that to have the Bible in English was no hurt.

Of course the further question arises as to the action of the ecclesiastical authorities subsequent to the Council of Oxford. On this matter one writer says that :

It appears by our Bishop's Registers, that by virtue of it (*i.e.*, the Constitution passed in the Council of Oxford) several men and women were afterwards condemned to be burnt, and forced to abjure, for the reading of the New Testament and learning the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, &c., and teaching them to others, of Dr. Wicklif's translation. This (the writer adds) one of our Church historians (namely Fuller) called in question the truth of, and argued against the facts, but, according to our author, quite wrongly.

Yet what—as far as they can be ascertained—are the facts ? In the first place let us confine our attention to the manuscript version of the English Scriptures, before the question was complicated by the attempted dissemination of the printed copies of Tyndale's English Testament in 1526.

During the fifteenth century the examinations of Lollards and those who were in any way suspected of a leaning towards Wycliffite doctrines were numerous and were conducted upon well recognised and well understood principles. The articles upon which the suspected were to be questioned are well known. In a copy to be seen among the Harleian MSS.* at the British Museum the interrogatories number

* Harl. MS. 2179, fol. 157.

thirty-four and embrace a great variety of points of Christian faith and practice. The subject of the vernacular Scriptures is, however, not so much as raised in any of them. Further, in the very large number of recorded examinations of people charged with holding Lollard opinions, and in the various abjurations made by all classes of people condemned for their heretical opinions, which I have been able personally to examine, I have met with but one or at most two references to the Sacred Scriptures in English. Take an example. In 1469 one John Turner of Sidney abjured, amongst other errors of which he had been convicted, the following: "that religious people from mere envy prevent lay persons having the Holy Scripture translated into the English language."* As John Turner retracted this opinion we may take it that in some sense or other the assertion was untrue. For the rest the many examinations, the record of which exist, reveal the fact that the followers of Wyclif could never have made any very special point of their determination at all costs to have the Sacred Scriptures in English. Had they done so some evidence would have been forthcoming in their examinations before the ecclesiastical courts. This is, moreover, exactly what we should expect, since in no well recognised work of Wyclif is any stress laid upon the Bible in the vernacular, beyond what some may consider to be implied in his general claim to have the Scripture as his sole rule of faith, as I have before pointed out.

It is frequently asserted that all copies of the English Scriptures that fell into the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities were destroyed. Sir Thomas More says that "if this were done so, it were not well done; but," he continues in reply to one who had asserted this, "I believe that ye mistake it." And taking up one case objected against him in which the Bible of a Lollard prisoner named Richard Hun, a London merchant, was said to have been burnt in the Bishop of London's prison, he says:

This I remember well, that besides other things framed for the favour of divers other heresies there were in the prologue of that Bible such

* Foxe, "Acts and Monuments" (ed. Townsend), iii., 539, records an instance of Ralph Mungin, in 1416, being charged with having "The Gospels of John Wyclif," whatever that may mean.

words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did abhor to hear and that gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that the book was written after Wyclif's copy and by him translated into our tongue, and that this Bible was destroyed consequently not because it was in English, but because it contained gross and manifest heresy.

This is borne out by the account given by Foxe, who has printed from the Register of Fitzjames, Bishop of London, thirteen articles extracted from "the prologue" of Hun's "Great Book of the Bible." These were read to the people from the pulpit at Paul's Cross, and they were invited to come and examine the Bible for themselves in order to see that it contained these errors.* If this list of articles can be relied upon, and there is no reason to distrust the account, it bears out Sir Thomas More's contention that this "great Bible" must have been a Lollard production, although we shall look in vain in the edition of Wycliffite Scriptures published by Forshall and Madden for any trace of these errors.

Turning now from Ecclesiastical to State records, we find no mention whatever of the Bible, or indeed of any part of the Scriptures, among the fairly numerous entries regarding the works of Wyclif and his Lollard followers recorded on the Patent and Close Rolls. In the period from Richard II. to Henry VII. searches were frequently directed to be made for the works of these reforming spirits, but no mention whatever is made in the orders for such quests of any translation of the Holy Scriptures. The usual form is much as follows: The King directs his sheriffs and other officers to search out and seize "all books, booklets, *cedulæ* and *quaterni*, compiled either in English or Latin, containing conclusions or wicked opinions contrary to the teaching of Holy Church." So careful were the authorities to carry out these instructions, that on the first intimation of any suspected centre of Lollard opinions the house was to be thoroughly searched to see "whether any English book, the reading of which was forbidden, could be found."†

From the absolute silence of all records, both ecclesiastical and lay, as to any Wycliffite version of the Bible, it may be fairly argued that the determination at all costs to spread the

* Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," iv. p. 186.

† Harl. MS., 2179, f. 158.

Scriptures in English formed no part of the practical politics of the Wycliffites. After this it need perhaps hardly be added that the rigour with which they were treated by Church and State authorities was in no sense caused by this lofty aspiration to propagate the gospel or any peculiar zeal manifested by them for the written word of God. The misunderstanding—to call it by its least objectionable name—is probably caused by certain circumstances relating to the first prints of the English Bible in the sixteenth century, upon which it is well here to make some brief remarks.

The difficulty first arose about 1526, when the translation of the New Testament, which had been made on the Continent by Tyndale, assisted by an ex-Friar, named William Roye, was first brought into England. Their object, as described by the learned Cochläus, who professes to have first-hand information, was that they “entertained hopes, that in a short time, through the New Testament, which they had translated into English, all the people of England would become Lutherans, whether the King would or no.” Whether this was the case or not does not greatly matter, since it is allowed on all hands that the version so printed was gravely, if not grossly, corrupt. “In some editions of Tyndale’s *New Testament*,” writes the Protestant historian Blunt, “there is what must be regarded as a wilful omission of the gravest possible character, for it appears in several editions and has no shadow of justification in the Greek or Latin of the passage (i. Peter, 11, 13, 14). Such an error was quite enough” to justify the suppression of Tyndale’s translation. That this infidelity was in truth the real reason for its condemnation clearly appears in the monition addressed by Tunstall, at that time Bishop of London, to the archdeacons of his diocese.

Some sons of iniquity and ministers of the Lutheran faction (he writes) have craftily translated the Holy Gospels of God into our vulgar English and intermingled with their translation articles gravely heretical and opinions that are erroneous, pernicious, pestilent, scandalous and tending to seduce persons of simple and unwary dispositions.

For this reason he orders that every copy of the translation that could be found or detected should be forthwith delivered up to his officers.*

* Commission dated October 24, 1526.

For some years after this ecclesiastical prohibition of Tyndale's translation, demands were from time to time made for an authorised printed version. It is open to us in these days perhaps to regret that no measure to satisfy this want was taken in due time by the Catholic bishops; but their reason for delaying the production was the substantial fear that it would only tend further to spread the ever increasing flood of erroneous opinions. As the royal proclamation "against translating the Bible in English, French, or Dutch," issued in 1530, says:

Having respect to the malignity of this present time, with the inclination of the people to erroneous opinions (it is thought) that the translation of the New Testament and the Old into the vulgar tongue of England would rather be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors among the said people than any benefit or commodity towards the weal of their souls, and that it shall be now more convenient that the same people have the Holy Scripture expounded to them by preachers in their sermons as it hath been of old time accustomed.

For these reasons all are ordered to deliver up the copies of the printed Testament "corruptly translated into the English tongue," the King promising "to provide that the holy Scripture shall be, by great learned and Catholique persons, translated into the English tongue, if it shall then seem to his grace convenient to be."*

The postponement of this promised issue was not decided upon without due consideration, and those who lived at the time and may be considered as likely best to understand the circumstances imputed no blame to Archbishop Warham and the English ecclesiastical authorities generally for their continued opposition to the scheme. Even Cranmer himself says: "I can wel think them worthie pardon, which at the comming abrode of the Scripture doubted and drew backe." On this point it has been well remarked, by the way, that there was no such general desire to have a vernacular Bible in England, as is commonly represented. Except among a small minority of interested persons, who saw in these translations a possible means of spreading their "new doctrines, England was certainly not a Bible-thirsty land."†

* Wilkins, "Concilia," iii. 741.

† J. R. Dore, "Old Bibles," p. 13.

After this brief digression which was necessary to explain the attitude of the English bishops in the early part of the sixteenth century towards the printed vernacular Scriptures, we may return to the question of the manuscript versions. We are now in a position to consider the fourth point of our inquiry, namely: What evidence, if any, is there for the existence of a Catholic and Orthodox version? So far as I am aware, every one who has dealt with the subject of the English Scriptures, has taken for granted that there was none. But in the first place we are confronted with the distinct claim put forward by Sir Thomas More. Besides expressly denying that there was any general prohibition of the English Bible, he asserts that there was an undoubted Catholic edition well known in his days.

As for old translacions, before Wycliffe's time (he writes) they remain lawfull and be in some folkes handes. Myself have seen and can show you, Bybles, fair and olde, in English which have been known and seen by the Byshoppe of the Diocese and left in laymanes hands and womenes.

Again, in another place he says:

The whole byble was long before his (*i.e.*, Wyclif's) days by vertuous and well learned men, translated into the English tongue and by good and godly people with devotion, and soberness, wel and reverently red.*

It may, I think, be justly argued that, although Sir Thomas More may have been wrong in assigning the manuscript copies of the version he knew as the authorised Catholic one, to a date prior to the age of Wyclif, he cannot have been wrong as to the *fact* of the existence in his days of well-known and approved copies of the Bible in English.

This evidence is corroborated by Archbishop Cranmer himself, who, in the prologue to the second edition of the great Bible, writes in defence of the Scriptures in English thus:

If the matter shoulde be tried by custome, wee might also alledge custome for the reading of the scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custome. For it is not much above one hundred yeare ago, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realme, and many hundred yeares before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, whiche at that tyme was our mother tongue * * and when this language waxed olde and out

* "Dyalogues" (ed. 1530), p. 138.

of common usage, bycause folke should not lacke the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remayne and be dayly founde.

These copies, it is hardly necessary to remark, the writer must have regarded as authorised translations, and it must have been one of these that he took as the basis of his projected print of the Bible in 1535, dividing it into nine or ten parts, which he submitted to various bishops for their correction.*

The same testimony—so far at least as regards the existence of vernacular versions of the Scriptures independent of John Wyclif's—is given by Foxe, the martyrologist. In his dedication to Archbishop Parker of his edition of the Saxon Gospels he writes :

If histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wickliffe was borne as since the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue.

In the face then of so much distinct evidence, it is extremely difficult not to admit the existence in pre-Reformation days of some well recognised and perfectly orthodox version or versions of the Holy Scriptures in English.†

Now the question at once arises, What has become of the Catholic version known to Sir Thomas More, Archbishop Cranmer, and John Foxe? If we are to accept the conclusions of those who have hitherto written on the subject, we know of but two English manuscript versions of the entire Bible, those which are now called the Lollard Scriptures, and as such they are printed in Forshall and Madden's great edition. Of any other—that is, any Catholic version—we are asked to believe that there is now no trace whatever. But, I would ask, may it not be possible that under the influence of a preconceived idea people have gone off on a wrong scent altogether? If we start with a foregone conclusion, we can have little hope that we shall read facts rightly, even though they be as plain as the proverbial pikestaff, and in this instance it appears to me that it has been assumed altogether too hastily that the English

* Strype, "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer" (ed. 1812), i. p. 42.

† The writer of the article on the "Vernacular Bible" in the *Encyclopædia* (9th ed.), viii. p. 381, *seqq.* suggests that "the many copies spoken of by Cranmer disappeared in the destruction of the monastic libraries."

pre-Reformation Scriptures could not have been Catholic, and must have been and were the outcome of the Wycliffite movement. For myself I may say, that after much consideration I have been led to the belief that facts cannot be made to square with this theory as to the origin of the first versions of the English Bible. Startling as the assertion may seem to many, I have come to the conclusion that the versions, now known as the Wycliffite Scriptures, are in reality only authorised translations of the Catholic Bible. Every circumstance that can be gleaned regarding these manuscripts strengthens this belief. Whether Hereford or Purvey possibly (for at best we are, so far as this is concerned, dealing with possibilities) may have had any part in the translation does not, after all, so much concern us. Our chief interest is not with the translator, but with the work itself and with the question whether it may fairly be claimed as the semi-official and certainly perfectly orthodox translation of the English Church; or whether, on the other hand, it must be regarded as a version secretly executed, clandestinely circulated, and still more stealthily studied by the Lollard followers of Wyclif. This is the main point of interest.

Now, I hardly think it can be questioned that if we were to rely upon the testimony of our writers of history, and our so-called masters of English literature, we must accept the latter alternative, and regard the English Bible as the book which the Lollard followers of Wyclif made, multiplied and studied, and for which they died. Take the description in Taine's "History of English Literature":

Fancy (he writes) these brave spirits, simple and strong souls, who began to read at night in their shops, by candle-light, for they were shopkeepers, tailors, skimmers and bakers, who with some men of letters began to read and then to believe, and finally got themselves burned.*

So far as I have been able to discover, however, from an examination of the two texts, there is nothing inconsistent with their having been the work of perfectly orthodox sons of Holy Church. In no place, where (had the version been the work of Lollard pens) we might have looked for texts strained or glossed to suit their well-known conclusions, do any such

* Taine, "History of English Literature," i. p. 167.

appear. Sir Thomas More indeed, as we have already seen, speaks of a Bible that was destroyed because it contained "such words touching the Blessed Sacrament" that people took it for a Lollard Bible. This is quite what we should have expected, seeing that some verses, written about the reign of Henry VI., are inserted into a copy of Hampole's Psalter, charging the Lollards with having interpolated their special teaching into this work so as to claim for it the authority of the holy hermit. Apparently all such garbled Scriptures must have fallen into the hands of those officials, who rigorously sought for any scrap of Wycliffite writing, since such Bibles are not now known to exist.

I cannot but think that an unbiassed mind that will reflect upon the matter must see how impossible it was for a poor persecuted sect like the Lollards, for the writings of which frequent and rigid searches were made, to produce the Bibles now ascribed to them. Many of these copies, as we may see for ourselves, are written with great care and exactness, and illuminated with coloured borders executed by skilful artists. These must surely have been the productions of freer hands than the followers of Wyclif ever were allowed to have in England. The learned editors of the so-called Wycliffite Scriptures, Messrs. Forshall and Madden, apparently hardly appreciated the force of this when they wrote :

The new copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and the princes of the blood royal did not disdain to possess them. The volumes were in many instances executed in a costly manner, and were usually written upon vellum by experienced scribes. This implies not merely the value which was set upon the word of God, but also that the scribes found a reward for their labours among the wealthier part of the community.*

This is undoubtedly the case, and it is to be explained only on the supposition that the English Bible thus widely circulated was in truth the authorised Catholic version, and was in the possession of its various owners with the thorough approval of the ecclesiastical authorities. Is it likely that men of position, of unquestioned orthodoxy, and of undoubted hostility to Lollard aims and opinions, would have cherished the possession of copies

* Introduction, p. xxxii.

of a Wycliffite Bible? When we find, for example, that a finely-executed vellum folio copy of the Scriptures with illuminated borders was not only the property of King Henry VI.—a monarch, by the way, of saintly life and “enthusiastic in the cause of religion”—but that he bestowed it upon the monks of the London Charterhouse, we cannot but acknowledge that this must have been known as the perfectly orthodox translation of the English Church.

The same version is found to have had a place in the royal library of Henry VII. In this copy not only is the excellent character of the workmanship altogether inconsistent with the notion that it is from the pen of some poor hunted adherent of Wyclif, but a leaf supplied at the beginning, in a late fifteenth century hand, is illuminated with the royal arms, the portcullis and red and white Tudor roses. Moreover, curiously enough, this border surrounds the prologue, *Five and Twenty Books*, so freely attributed to Wyclif.

A third copy of the English Scriptures—the very manuscript now displayed in the British Museum as Wyclife’s translation, to which I referred at the commencement of this paper—formerly belonged to Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the firm friend and ally of that uncompromising opponent of Lollard opinions, Archbishop Arundel. Indeed, the inventory of the Duke of Gloucester’s goods, now in the Record Office, shows that, besides “the Bible in English in two big volumes bound in red leather,” he possessed in his by no means extensive library an English Psalter and two books of the Gospels in English.* Another copy of this version of the New Testament was the property of, and has the autograph of, Humphrey—“the good Duke Humphrey”—of Gloucester, the generous benefactor of St. Albans, and the constant friend of its abbot, Whethamstede, whose hostility to Lollard doctrines is well known.

Another point which must not be overlooked is the good Catholic company in which this version of the Scriptures, or parts of it, are occasionally found. Thus, in a volume in the Museum collection we find not only the lessons from the Old Testament read in the Mass Book, together with the table of

* R. O. Exch. Q. R. Escheator’s Accts. 77.

Epistles and Gospels, but a tract by Richard Rolle, "of amendinge of mannes life, or 'the rule of lifying,'" and another on contemplative life and love of God.* Another copy of *The Book of Tobit*, in the later version, which is followed by the translated *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, has also in the volume some tracts or meditations, and what is called the "Pistle of Holy Sussanne." With this is bound, possibly at a later date, Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Craft of Deying*. The Catholic origin of this volume is borne out fully by the fact that it belonged to the convent of Barking in Essex. Indeed, it appears to have been written by one of the nuns named Matilda Hayle, as the note *Iste liber constat Matilde Hayle de Berkinge* is in the same hand as the body of the book, which, by the way, subsequently belonged to another nun named Mary Hastynges.†

A copy of the English Bible, now at Lambeth, formerly belonged to Bishop Bonner, that *Malleus hereticorum*, and another, now at Cambridge, to William Weston, the Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell.

In like manner a copy of the English translation of the New Testament, now attributed to Wyclif, among the manuscripts of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick, was originally, and probably not long after the volume was written, the property of another religious. On the last page is the name of Katerina Methwold, *Monacha*—Katherine Methwold—the nun.

There are, moreover, instances of the English Bible—the production—the secret production of the Lollard scribes—that perilous piece of property to possess, as we are asked to believe—there are instances of this being bequeathed by wills publicly proved in the public courts of the bishops. Others, not less publicly, are bestowed upon churches or given to religious houses. It is of course obvious that this could never have been done had the volume so left been the work of Wyclif or of his followers, for it would then indeed have been, as a modern writer describes the Wycliffite books, "a perilous piece of property." Thus, before the close of the fourteenth century, namely in 1394, a copy of the Gospels in English was

* Lansdowne MS., 455.
[No. 11 of *Fourth Series*.]

† Add. MS., 10,596.
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bequeathed to the chantry of St. Nicholas in the church of Holy Trinity, York, by John Hopton, chaplain there.* Fancy what this means on the theory that the English Scriptures were the work of Wycliffite hands! It means nothing less than that a Catholic priest publicly bequeaths, in a will proved in his bishop's court, to a Catholic church for the use of Catholic people the prescribed work of some member of an heretical sect!

Again, in 1404, Philip Baunt, a Bristol merchant, leaves by will a copy of the Gospels in English to a priest named John Canterbury, attached to St. Mary Redcliffe's Church. And—not to mention many cases in wills of the period, where it is probable that the Bible left was an English copy—there is an instance of a bequest of such a Bible in the will of a priest, William Revetour, of York, in 1446. The most interesting gift of an English New Testament, as a precious and pious donation to the church, is that of the copy now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham,† which in 1517 was given to the Convent of our Lady of Syon by Lady Danvers. On the last page is the following dedication:

Good . . . Mr. Confessor of Sion with his brethren. Dame Anne Danvers widowe, sometye wyffe to Sir William Danvers, knyght (whose soul God assoyle) hathe gevyn this present Booke unto Mastre Confessor and his Brethren enclosed in Syon, entending therby not oonly the honor laude and preysse to Almighty God but also that she the moore tenderly may be committed unto the mercy of God.

The aforseid Dame Anne Danvers hathe delyvered this booke by the hands of her son Thomas Danvers on Mydde Lent Sunday in the 8th yere (of our lord King Henry VIII. and in the yere) of our Lord God a M. fyve hundred and seventeene. Deo gracias.

To all who know what Syon was; how for a century past it had represented the very pink of pious orthodoxy and was the centre of the devotional life of the period; how the practical piety of its sisters was fostered by the highest ascetical teaching of Richard Whytford and others; to all who understand this it must appear as nothing less than the height of absurdity to suppose that any lady would insult its inmates by offering for their acceptance an heretical version of the English Bible.

* Surtees Soc. *Testamenta Ebor*, i. 196.

† Ashburnham MS., Appendix xix. (No. 156 in Forshall and Madden). The text of this MS. was printed for Mr. Lea Wilson by Pickering in 1848.

And, whilst on the subject of Syon, attention must be called to another very important piece of evidence for the existence of a Catholic version of the Scriptures. It is contained in a devotional book, written probably not later than the year 1450 for the use of these sisters of Syon, and printed "at the desyre and instaunce of the worshypfull and devoute lady abbesse* of the worshypful Monastery of Syon/and the reverende fadre in God† general confessorre of the same" about the year 1530. It is called *The Myrroure of our Lady very necessary for religious persons*, and it is practically a translation of their church services into English to enable the nuns the better to understand their daily ecclesiastical duties. The point to which attention is directed is the following paragraph in the "first prologue," written, remember, not later than the middle of the fifteenth century: "Of psalms I have drawn (*i.e.*, translated) but fewe," says the author, "for ye may have them of Richard Hampoules drawinge, and out of *Englysshe bibles* if ye have lysence therto."‡ It is not very likely that these pious sisters would have been able to get their psalms from Wycliffite versions.

To pass to another point: it has been remarked upon as somewhat strange that in Wyclif's sermons, which seem to have been written at the close of his life, the Scripture quotations are in no case made from the version now declared to be his. A preacher, of course, may have turned the Latin into English at the moment; but in his case this is hardly likely if, as we are given to understand, the popularising of his reputed version was the great object of his life. Moreover, what may well have been the case in spoken discourses would scarcely have been adhered to in written and formal sermons. Beyond this the same is true of every work reputed to be Wyclif's. In no instance does he quote his own supposed version. On the other hand it is at/least most remarkable that the Commentary upon the Apocalypse, formerly attributed to Wyclif, but which is now acknowledged not to be from his pen, has the ordinary version for its text.

Further, it is not without significance that Bishop Pecock in his "Repressor," a work written ostensibly against the position

* Dame Agnes Jordan, the last abess.

† John Fewterer, who also survived the Dissolution.

‡ "The Myrroure of cure Ladye" (ed. J. H. Blunt), E. Eng. Text Soc., p. 3.

of the Lollards and their claim to make the Sacred Scripture their sole and sufficient guide in all things, not only uses what is now called the Wycliffite version of the Bible in all his quotations, but throughout his tract evidently takes for granted that the lay-folk generally had the Scriptures with authority, and nowhere blames the fact. Moreover, he is careful to explain that he only speaks of the Lollards as "Biblemen," because of their wish to found every law of faith and morals on the written Word.

This what I have now said (he concludes) of and to Bible men I have not said under this intent and meaning that I should feel to be unlawful (for) laymen for to read in the Bible and for to study and learn therein, with help and counsel of wise and well learned clerks and with license of ther governor and bishop.*

And here we may note that this authorisation of the Scriptures, to which several references have been made, was in fact sometimes at least given. The Council of Oxford had laid down the law that the version must be "approved and allowed" by those in authority. Bishop Pecock, in the passage above quoted, speaks of this "license of their governor and bishop," and Sir Thomas More declares that such approbation might be obtained without difficulty. When the Hours B. V. M., which Caxton printed in A.D. 1500, were first translated about thirty years previously, the translator informs us that for his version of the Psalms he "asked and obtained the necessary permission from his bishop."† Another example of what apparently is an approbation is to be seen in one of Lord Ashburnham's manuscript copies of the New Testament. The writing I refer to is unfortunately hardly legible. It is, however, certainly to be dated in the fifteenth century, and probably is hardly much later than the writing in the main part of the book. What can be read runs as follows: "A lytel boke of—£8 6s. 8d., and it (was written by) a holy man (and) was overseyne and read by Dr. Thomas Ebb-all and Dr. Ryve . . . my modir bought it." We have here then a mere chance record of the fact that this particular copy of the New Testament had been "overseen and read" by two learned doctors, deputed, it is

* R. Pecock, "The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy" (ed. Rolls Series), i. p. 37.

† "Speculum B. Virginis," in Wharton, *Auctarium*, p. 448.

hardly too much to conclude, by rightful authority for the purpose. This, by the way, is of course a copy of the later of the two versions now known as Wycliffite Scriptures.

To this instance we may add that the historian Strype records of Archbishop Arundel that he "was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's use thereof." This he deduces from the testimony of an old manuscript written apparently at the time of the death of Anne of Bohemia, the consort of King Richard II. in 1392.

Also the Bishop of Canterbury, Thomas of Arundel, that now is (runs the record), preached a sermon at Westminster, whereat there were many hundred people, at the burying of Queen Anne (on whose soul God have mercy), and in his commendation of her he said that it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien born she had in English all the four Gospels, with the doctors upon them. And he said that she sent them unto him, and he said that they were good and true and commended her, in that she was so great a Lady and also an alien and would study such holy, such virtuous books.*

There is one curious piece of evidence which seems to point to the conclusion that the archbishops and clergy of England at one time actually proposed that Parliament should sanction an approved vernacular translation. The point in question is referred to in a strange old contemporary tract printed by John Foxe. The writer there says :

Also it is known to many men that into a Parliament, in the time of King Richard II., there was put a Bible, by the assent of the archbishops and of the clergy, to annul the Bible at that time translated into English with other English books of the exposition of the Gospel.

Apparently this project was opposed by John of Gaunt, and it came to nothing. I am, of course, aware that Foxe and subsequent writers have spoken of this as a Bill introduced by Archbishop Arundel to put down the newly-translated English Bible, but the tract clearly says it was a "Bible" proposed by the clergy to take the place of some unauthorised version, and the whole argument of the writer of the tract requires that this should be his meaning.†

Another not unimportant point in the evidence which goes

* Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer" (ed. 1812), i. p. 3.

† Foxe, "Acts and Monuments" (ed. Townsend), iv. p. 674.

to show that the vernacular versions, now known as Wycliffite, are in reality perfectly orthodox and authorised is the fact that most of the copies now extant are intended for use in the church.

Lewis long ago noticed * that the Anglo-Saxon translation was divided into sections over which was placed a rubric directing when it should be read. For instance, Matthew i. 18 is prefaced by the following in Anglo-Saxon: "This Gospel is to be read on Midwinter's mass eve." This, that writer says, "I think a good proof that at this time the Holy Scriptures were read in the public service of the church in a language which the people understood." He failed, however, to remark that the same may be said of the English version. Most of the extant copies will be found marked for the Lessons, Epistles and Gospels, and a good many are prefaced by a table "or rule that tellith" in which chapters of the Bible "ye maye fynde the lessons, &c., that ben red in the chirche all the yeer aftir the use of Salisbirie."† Some of the manuscripts are in fact merely books of the Epistles and Gospels from the New Testament in this English version to which, that there might be no doubt about their use in connection with church purposes, there are added the portions of the Old Testament read at times in the mass. To some copies of the entire New Testament these portions of the Old have been added. One copy of the older version (Harl. MS., 1710) is an excellent example of a fourteenth-century Gospel book, giving the parts of Scripture "as they ben red in the messe booke after ye use of Salisberi." Its actual connection with the Church services is further shown by its giving, on folio 15, "Ye Gospel at Matynes on twelfth day," and, on folio 9, a long rubric as to the chaunting of a portion of the office: "Ye first verse and ye last by two togidere but all ye myddel verse one syngeth only." This book belonged, by the way, to "Sir Roger Lyne, chantry prest of Saynt Swythyn's at London Stone." And this, says the maker of the Harleian Catalogue, "is a sort of proof that in times of Popery, the reading God's word in our mother-tongue was not denied by authority."

I am aware that it is not generally considered probable

* "History of the English Translations of the Bible," p. 10.

† Harl. MS., 4890, f. 1.

that the Epistles and Gospels were read in the vernacular as well as in Latin at the mass. But I cannot myself doubt that this was done, frequently if not ordinarily. Such a course so obviously advantageous, was, as we know, advised by Bishop Grosseteste, not to mention others, and was at least sometimes done, as we know from specific instances. The existence of prones on the Gospels of Sundays and Feast days—some of them very early—in which the whole of the Gospel is translated and afterwards explained, is well known, and to me these marked copies of the English Scriptures and English Epistle and Gospel books are additional proof that the practice was more common than some writers are inclined to allow.

There is not even a shadow of probability in the suggestion that Wycliffite Scriptures would be marked for the Church services for the use of his "poor priests." The truth is that these same "poor priests" had in fact little claim to any sacerdotal character. They are described by Professor Shirley as mere *lay* preachers, both "coarse and ignorant."* The few priests who were attracted at the beginning of the "Reformer's" career by his bold and withal brilliant attacks upon the ecclesiastical order, quickly returned to the bosom of the Church. "In this, therefore," writes the same author, "the most essential point of his whole system (independence of authority) he was unable to count on retaining the support of any but a few presumptuous fanatics, the 'fools who rushed in where angels fear to tread.'"[†] The assumption, then, that these copies of the vernacular Bible were marked with the passages of Holy Scripture used in the Sarum Missal, to assist the Lollard preachers is, in view of these laymen having no connection whatever with the Church or its services, of their having no special veneration, to put it mildly, for the mass in general, or "the use of Salisbury" in particular, without the slightest foundation in fact.

Let me now sum up very briefly. I have neither the wish nor the intention to deny that Wyclif *may* have had something to do with the translation of the Bible into English. My concern is with the actual versions of the translated Scriptures now known to us. Two, and only two, such pre-Reformation

* *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, Introduction, p. xl.

† *Ibid.*, p. lxvii.

vernacular versions are in existence. These have hitherto been ascribed unhesitatingly to Wyclif or his followers, and are known to all under the title of the Wycliffite Scriptures, as printed by Messrs. Forshall and Madden. It will be observed that the ascription of these translations to Wyclif is not based on positive testimony; but, when the case is looked into, it really depends on the tacit assumption that there was no Catholic version at all. I desire rather to insist on this point, because to many it may seem more than strange that after the immense amount of labour that has been spent upon these manuscripts I should come forward with a theory that runs absolutely counter to the conclusions of many most learned and estimable men. But, if I mistake not, these same conclusions have been formed without any consideration of an alternative. Accordingly, no practical need has been felt by writers who have dealt with the subject to consider a number of facts, which in themselves constitute grave difficulties against the theory of the Wycliffite origin of these versions, and they have, in the circumstances naturally, perhaps, been allowed to lie dormant. But, as I have pointed out, there seems no possibility of denying the existence in pre-Reformation times of a Catholic and allowed version of the English Bible. At once, therefore, all these difficulties rise into life and must be faced honestly if the truth is to be reached. For my own part, having looked into the matter with some care, I do not see how it is possible to come to any other conclusion than this: that the versions of the Sacred Scriptures, edited by Messrs. Forshall and Madden, and commonly known as Wycliffite, are in reality the Catholic versions of our pre-Reformation forefathers.

F. A. GASQUET.

Science Notices.

The Cloud Exhibition of the Royal Meteorological Society.

—The Classification of Clouds.—The Annual Exhibition of the Royal Meteorological Society, held in April last, treated of the representation and measurement of clouds, and from its pictorial nature was perhaps of wider interest than many of the previous exhibitions. Several beautiful photographs of clouds were shown, the specimens being collected from all parts of the world. Some were taken by Mons. Paul Garnier at the observatory at Boulogne-sur-Seine, others came from the Santis Observatory, Switzerland. Mr. H. C. Russell exhibited a series of six photographs representing the cloud formation during a thunderstorm at Sydney on May 31. There were also on view clouds taken at the Vatican Observatory. Mr. Clayden exhibited clouds taken by reflection from a black glass mirror. In this process he places the mirror in front of the lens so that the plane of the mirror makes an angle of about 33° with the axis of the lens. As the mirror extinguishes the polarised light, the image of the cloud stands out brightly on a dark ground.

Perhaps the most curious photographs shown were the "Festooned Cumulus," being part of a storm cloud which passed over Sydney, New South Wales, January 18, 1893, and the two photographs exhibited by Mr. H. C. Russell depicting the clouds preceding the "Southerly Burster" at Sydney on November 13, 1893, six P.M., and the peculiar effect of the cloud-roll of the Southerly Burster an hour later on the same day.

The photographs of Tornado clouds were also very curious. Two of these were taken at Jamestown, Dakota, June 6, 1887, when the cloud-funnel was twelve miles to the north, and one was taken in the storm of June 22, 1888, and shows the spiral-shaped funnel trailing at a considerable altitude in the air at the other side of a lake, New Hampshire, U.S.

In addition to the pictorial nature of the exhibition, there were several instruments on view for ascertaining the direction and height of clouds. Amongst these were nephoscopes for finding out the direction of the motion of clouds. The principle in the various types exhibited is the same. There is a circular mirror with radial or parallel lines marked on it. The points of the compass are marked on the outside of the frames. To find the direction of the motion of

a cloud, the mirror is turned on its axis until the image of the cloud passes along one of the lines. An ingenious instrument for determining the height, rate, and direction of motion from photographs, is the one designed by Sir G. G. Stokes. Photographs of a cloud are taken at the same time by two cameras placed at each end of a measured base, another set is taken at an interval of about two minutes. A print of one of the four negatives thus obtained is placed upon a sheet of paper upon which cross lines have been ruled to allow of the pictures being properly adjusted, and with a needle a prick is made through the position of the point of the cloud which has been selected for measurement. The process is repeated for each of the other pictures of the set. The sheet of paper containing four holes is placed over the square aperture in the diaphragm of the instrument, which is placed at a distance from the lens at the end equal to the focal length of the camera lens. Another sheet of paper is then placed on the moveable board beyond the diaphragm, which by means of the divided arc attached to it is set to the zenith distance of the cameras at the time the photographs were taken. This instrument is then placed so that a strong light passes through the lens on to the diaphragm and four spots of light are formed upon the paper on the boards, which being joined will form a parallelogram, two opposite sides of which will give the drift of the cloud on the same scale as the other two sides represent the distance between the two cameras. The direction of the drift is easily obtained from the position of the one pair of sides relatively to the other, the latter being parallel to the measured base the bearings of which are known. The product of the distance from the lens to the board and the length of the measured base in feet, divided by the length of the side of the parallelogram parallel to the base, gives the height of the cloud in feet.

An interesting feature of the exhibition were two sketches by the late Luke Howard, whose well-known classification of clouds is in general use at the present time. One of these depicts clouds gathering for a thunderstorm and represents a sky full of the peculiar forms assumed by the clouds when gathering for a thunderstorm, the other represents the commencement of a stratus. The evening mist creeps as it rises through the valley to become shortly a dense body of cloud resting with a level surface on the ground like a lake of water and possibly on the morrow covering the country with fog.

The closer study of cloud phenomena afforded by modern photography has suggested to several meteorologists that the time has come for a wider classification of their varieties than the one estab-

lished by Luke Howard. Mr. Gaster recently suggested a method for a new classification to the Royal Meteorological Society. In this he recognises that there are only two main classes of cloud forms: (1) those which arrange themselves in the form of sheets, whose vertical measurements are small when compared with the horizontal, to which he applies the general term *stratus* and *stratiform*; (2) those which rise up in heaps like masses of cotton wool and form an horizontal base, to which he applies the terms *cumulus* and *cumuliform*. To describe the varieties of these main classes he supplements them with certain characteristic prefixes and affixes such as the following: *Detached*, applying to sheet clouds when the sheet is broken up into a number of more or less rounded cloudlets, such as is found in the conventional *cirro-cumulus* cloud. *Fracto*, applied to clouds or portions of them with ragged edges, bearing the appearance of having been broken off roughly from a larger mass, or of having their outline broken or torn owing to some atmospheric disturbance. *Turreted*, when portions of the cloud rise abruptly from a base in a turret-like form at considerable distances from one another. *Mammated*, when instead of the rounded portion of certain clouds rising upwards from the base they hang downwards, instances of this occurring both in *stratiform* and *cumuliform* clouds. *Furrowed*, applied to certain forms of clouds the under surface of which is in ridges, as though it had been ploughed as a field. *Cirriform*, applied to those clouds which, while appearing as sheets, have a distinct filamentary structure either in right or curvilinear lines, or take the form of feathers.

He arranges the cloud forms under four headings: 1. Surface clouds which appear commonly between the earth's surface and a cloud level of about 2,000 ft., at which altitude the bases of some of the *cumulo-nimbi* are sometimes found. 2. Lower medium clouds commonly found at an altitude varying from 2,000 to about 10,000 ft. from the earth. 3. Higher medium clouds including all varieties which usually float at an elevation ranging from 10,000 to about 22,000 ft. 4. Highest level or *cirriform* clouds found commonly at elevations exceeding 22,000 ft. Mr. Ley has raised two objections to Mr. Gaster's proposed classification: 1. That the nomenclature is non-international, English words doing duty side by side with classical ones. 2. That it is unscientific. He thinks that a new classification should rest on differences of physical processes, such as simple radiation from the earth, dust particles, convection currents, the over-lapping of currents differing in velocity, direction, or both, the adiabatic effects of condensation and of congelation on the forms of clouds.

But whatever may be the basis of the new classification, as Mr. Gaster has pointed out, a closer observation is very desirable for obtaining a direct knowledge of the movements of the higher wind currents over level country. "Once let us be possessed of good cloud observations, taken by a fairly numerous body of observers scattered over the country, observing simultaneously, and using the same terms when referring to identical forms, there must of necessity be a development of our knowledge of the atmospheric circulation both in cyclonic and anticyclonic systems, which cannot fail to be of the utmost value to meteorologists and to the world at large."

Turacin.—The animal pigment Turacin, discovered by Professor A. H. Church, possesses several remarkable features. It is the red colouring matter in the wing feathers of a plantain eater. This colouring matter is soluble in water, but Professor Church found that a better way of separating the pigment was to use dilute ammonia as the solvent, and to precipitate by adding hydrochloric acid in excess. After precipitation the separated colouring matter is filtered off, washed and dried. The product obtained is a solid of a dark, bloodlike crimson hue, not crystalline, and having a purple semi-metallic lustre. The name Turacin is taken from "Touraco," the appellation by which the plantain eaters are known, Turacus being the most extensive genus of this family of birds. Professor Church expected to find iron in this pigment, but on testing for it got a precipitate of Prussian brown indicating the presence of copper in larger proportions. For some time the announcement of the presence of copper in an animal pigment was viewed with some scepticism, and it was suggested that it must have been derived from the Bunsen burner used in incineration, or from some preservative solution applied to the bird skins. But independent observers had occasion to confirm the professor's opinion that as concentrated hydrochloric acid removes no copper from turacin even on boiling, the metal present could not have been a mere casual impurity, and as the proportion is constant in the turacin, the existence of a single definite compound is indicated.

Professor Church thinks the source of the copper is in the food of the bird. The presence of the metal has been found in a very large number of plants, and it can be readily detected in the ash of banana fruits, the favourite food of several species of the "turacin bearers." The feathers of a bird contain about two grains of turacin, corresponding to $\frac{1}{14}$ of a grain of metallic copper. As the professor states, this is not a large amount to be furnished by its food to one of these birds once annually during the season of the renewal of its

feathers. It is curious that when the blood and tissues of one of these birds was examined immediately after death there were only faint traces of copper.

The pigment is not found in all the genera of plantain eaters, but only in three out of the six—the *Turacus*, *Gallirex*, and *Musophaga*. In all the birds in which the pigment occurs it is confined to the red parts of the web, and is unaccompanied by other colouring matter. It is therefore found that if a single barb from a feather is analysed its black base and its black termination contains no copper, while the intermediate portion gives the blue-green flash of copper when incinerated in the Bunsen flame; where it occurs turacin is homogeneously distributed in the barbs, barbicels and crochets of the web, and is not in granules or corpuscles.

Professor Church has naturally made a search for this pigment in other birds, but at present without success, though he has sought for it in scores of birds which are more or less nearly related to the plantain eaters. In some of the latter, however, he has found a second pigment closely related to turacin, of a dark grass-green colour, which is probably identical with the green pigment into which turacin when moist is converted by long exposure to the air, or by ebullition with soda. Turacin is a colloid, and shares in a high degree the peculiar property of colloids of retaining when freshly precipitated an immense proportion of water. When its solution in ammonia is precipitated by an acid, the coagulum formed is very voluminous, one grain of turacin is capable of forming a semi-solid mass with 600 grains of water. Like other colloids it is soluble in pure water, and is insoluble in the presence of mere traces of saline matter. The effect of heating turacin is remarkable. At 100° and at much higher temperatures it undergoes no modification, but when heated to the boiling point of mercury its character is changed.

No vapours are evolved, but the substance becomes black and is no longer soluble in alkaline liquids, nor when still more strongly heated afterwards can it be made to yield the purple vapours which unchanged turacin gives off under the same circumstances. This peculiarity of turacin caused great difficulty in its analysis, for these purple vapours contain an organic crystalline compound in which both nitrogen and copper are present, and which resist further decomposition by heat. This production of a volatile organic compound of copper is perhaps comparable with the formation of nickel and ferro-carbonyl.

The action of concentrated sulphuric acid on the pigment is attended with curious results. It dissolves with a fine crimson colour, and yields a new compound, the spectrum of which presents a very close resemblance to that of hæmatoporphyrin, the product obtained by the same treatment from hæmatin.

Professor Church estimates that the percentage composition of turacin is carbon 53.69, hydrogen 4.6, copper 7.01, nitrogen 6.96, and oxygen 27.74.

The Fountain Air Brush.—Mr. C. L. Burdick's Fountain Air Brush is an ingenious attempt to replace the artist's brush or pencil by a more subtle medium for conveying the colour to the canvas. It consists of a pencil something like a fountain pen. The colour to be used is held in a receptacle near the point and is sprayed on to the canvas or other material by the pressure of air which supplied from an air pump worked with the foot is communicated to or fro by a flexible indiarubber tubing. The spray of colour is regulated by a button on the pencil worked by the finger. Pressing this button downwards starts the spray, while moving it backwards or forwards increases respectively the quantity of colour distributed. When the pencil is held near the surface a fine line is produced, when removed further from the surface it becomes broader, and as the distance is increased it becomes a lighter and broader shadow. The advantages which the inventor claims for his device are as follows: by its use a uniform spray of colour is possible, devoid of irregularities or blotches, as the jet of air causes spray in a more or less fine state of division. As air is much softer and a more flexible medium than hair, the particles of colour are not stirred up or disarranged after they are deposited. It is maintained that the current of air and quantity of colour can be so manipulated as to produce varying lines and shadows which cannot be produced by any half dozen tools at the artist's command. Another point urged in favour of the air brush is that one wash or layer of colour may be put over another without disturbing the first.

By its use great delicacy of tints is accomplished. A shadow may be made with a black colour upon a white surface so delicate as to be invisible to the eye, and it is only after going over the surface three or four times that it becomes visible. By the use of the air brush the part of the picture which is immediately operated upon is not covered with the tool as when the pencil or brush is used. The operator can see his shadows growing. Another advantage urged by Mr. Burdick is the rapidity of action. "Not of the least importance is the fact, generally acknowledged, of a great saving of time by this tool. It means that the artist may place his conception upon paper or canvas before it is dulled or lost in the toil of slower methods."

It is, however, doubtful whether the fountain air brush will find much favour with artists, to whom haste should not be an object. They will probably criticise its action as too mechanical to correspond

with artistic conception. It would seem, too, that its use would entail too much bodily labour in the way of foot pumping, which would not tend to produce the necessary mental concentration upon the work in hand. If, however, it fails to interest the artist, it may become popular with the picture maker.

The Soirée of the Royal Society.—The annual Soirée of the Royal Society in May drew together the usual choice and selected exhibits of what is newest in scientific achievement, both in pure science and its application. Amongst the exhibits which represented the former was an apparatus to illustrate Mr. Henry Wilde's somewhat fanciful theory, that the exterior of the earth is permanently magnetic, and that there is an interior globe inside the exterior one that is movable and magnetic, rotating in the plane of the ecliptic $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and losing one revolution in 960 years, or 22.5 of a degree annually. It is imagined also that the internal sphere is electro-dynamic. In the model exhibited there were two globes, one within the other, each containing a coil of insulated wire, through which currents of electricity are sent, and mounted so that their motions are such as to agree with this theory. If a compass is placed over various parts of the globe, it is found that the same variations and dips are produced as is the case with the earth.

An exhibit representing work in pure research, but promising great future utility, was that relating to Professor Marshall Ward's experiments in Bacteriology, consisting of apparatus used to observe and measure the growths of bacteria, fungi, and other micro-organisms under the microscope. There was the culture cell, which has a floor of quartz and holds large quantities of water, so that while the light rays are easily admitted, the temperature of the cell cannot easily vary. There were also on view the screens of coloured glass and the various liquids concerned in the professor's experiments in growing microbes under various kinds of light, which seem to have proved that it is the blue rays which have such a distinctive effect on germ life, and suggest the idea that concentrated rays of blue light may in the future be found to be a powerful disinfectant.

Several experiments were shown in persistence of vision by the aerial-graphoscope which, besides showing the general effect of persistence in a striking manner, has been found to be capable of showing certain phenomena of persistence of vision, which are not shown by the older instruments devised to illustrate the retentive power of the retina of the eye. The general effect of persistence of vision as shown by this instrument was noticed in this REVIEW in 1889. One of the special features shown at the soirée was the demonstration of

the difference in intensity of the real and incidental image, and the gradual fading of incidental images. The white lathe of the instrument is generally tinted grey in the centre, diminishing in shade towards the extremities, where the lathe is left white. This has been done to give the lantern picture, which on the lathe being revolved is apparently cast in mid-air, as far as possible the same intensity of illumination in all parts. The centre of the lathe in revolving is always before the eye; here there is no incidental image. When there is no picture cast upon the revolving lathe, and only the white disc shown, though the centre is tinted grey, there appears a brilliant white spot in the centre of the disc, contrasting with the other portions, showing that the real image is of much greater intensity than the incidental image. It is also noticeable that the intensity of the illuminated disc gradually diminishes as the edge is reached, showing that the incidental image gradually fades from the retina, the lathe toward the extremities having to pass through more and more space, and the persistent image being less and less often reinforced. If the grey spot in the centre of the lathe is covered up with a piece of white paper, and a lantern picture is thrown upon the lathe, it is found that the difference of illumination between the real and incidental image is strikingly enhanced. The incidental disc can be used for almost any kind of optical projection with the same result as if a substantial screen were used, except that the effect of the object standing out boldly in space enhances the effect. When, however, objects in rapid motion are cast upon the incidental disc, the same result is not obtained as if a real disc was used, but peculiar forms and combinations are visible. Owing to (1) the relative motions of the lathe and the object, (2) owing to the centre of the disc being a real disc and not an incidental one, (3) owing to the varying intensity of the incidental disc in different portions of it. One of the most striking experiments was the projection of a simple slit, such as is used for spectrum work, on the incidental disc. The projection of the slit, instead of becoming a confusion of images, as would have been the case if it had been projected on an ordinary screen, was split up into a variety of forms, having the appearance of hieroglyphic writing. When the shadow of an iron ring rapidly revolved on the end of a cord is cast upon the disc, several shadows of the ring can be seen at the same time, and what is very curious if the eye is turned from the shadows of the ring to the ring itself the latter is seen to partake in the multiplication as the light is reflected back on it by the revolving lathe. A pretty experiment was the shadow of a falling ball, which was seen in several parts of the disc. Another remarkable effect is the projection of Newton's colour disc upon the

incidental screen. On the former being revolved in the optical lantern, the three primary colours, which owing to their confusion on the retina should have produced white light if projected on an ordinary disc, in this case only gave the individual colours. When, however, the experiment was arranged so that part of the colour disc was projected on the centre of the lathe, and part on the remainder of the other portions, the part which is the centre produced white light on being revolved, while the rest showed individual colours.

Amongst the exhibits that related to the applications of science, perhaps one of the more important was the artificial cable of the same capacity and conductor resistance as the Atlantic cable, which is to be laid next July by the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company. The capacity is 800 micro-farads, and 3350 B.A. units. This cable will have a speed of fifty words a minute, as compared with twenty-five or thirty words as now accomplished. Another interesting electrical exhibit was by Mr. James Wimshurst, who showed a practical device for telegraphic communication between lightships and the shore. If an electric cable is laid at the bottom of the sea, and the end taken to a lightship, it is twisted about the mooring cable as the ship swings with each tide and soon snaps. Mr. Wimshurst cuts the cable in half at the shackle between the cable and the mooring grapnel, and depends upon induction to bridge the interval.

Mr. Moissan's electric furnace was on view, as well as specimens of chemical elements obtained by means of it, such as vanadium, chromium, tungsten, uranium. The furnace is a parallelepiped of limestone, having a cavity of similar shape cut in it. In the cavity is a small crucible made of a mixture of carbon and magnesia. The electrodes are made of hard carbon, and meet inside the cavity. Mr. Moissan has, by means of this furnace, accomplished the reduction of the most refractory metals, and has fused and volatilised lime and magnesia. Most of the metallic elements have been vaporised. An interesting experiment is the fusing of iron with an excess of carbon, and then quickly cooling the vessel containing the solution of carbon and molten iron by plunging it into cold water, or into a bath of molten lead. The result was the production of small colourless crystals of carbon, having the same properties as Nature's diamonds.

Mr. H. A. Fleuss showed his mechanical air-pump, which competes with the mercury pump in producing high vacua. By means of two such pumps worked in series, air pressure can be reduced to one-thousandth of a millimetre. This invention will commend itself to the makers of incandescent lamps, and it is a matter for surprise that the improvement of the mechanical pump has been so long neglected.

[No. 11 of *Fourth Series*.]

L

Nova et Vetera.

“BIDDING THE BEDES.”

IN almost all our Catholic Churches in England it is usual, at the Sunday Masses, in the interval before the Credo, to read out the names of those who are sick, of those who are lately dead, and those whose anniversaries occur during the week, and to commend them to the prayers of the congregation. In many churches, priest and people join in saying a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, or in some places the *De Profundis* or the versicle *Eternal Rest*, &c., is added. This reading of the “notices”, has, we love to think, its liturgical prototype in the diptychs and liturgical forms of both Eastern and Western antiquity. The Irish Church, in some parts at least of its area, has preserved some very graphic traces of the same traditional practice. As an illustration, we may instance what usually takes place at the conclusion of the parochial Mass in certain dioceses of the North of Ireland. When the priest has finished the last gospel, standing on the predella, his face turned to the altar, he asks the prayers of the people for a number of intentions. He names aloud these intentions, one by one, pausing between each to allow the people to say the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* silently—silently, save for that impressive murmur of devotional fervour that swells from the many faithful lips which respond to his bidding. These intentions vary with the locality, but usually amongst them are to be found the following:—

“For our holy Father the Pope, that God may bless him and long preserve him to rule His Holy Church.”

“For the bishop and clergy of this diocese, especially those who have served in this charge.”

“For the sick and infirm of the parish.”

“For the congregation here present.”

“For the souls in Purgatory, especially for all those whose bodies lie buried in this graveyard.”

“For the souls of parents, kindred folks, and benefactors, especially for those for whom in duty or charity we are most bound to pray.”

Not unfrequently the priest, to whose heart is present one or other of those anxious cases which arise amid the countless cares of pastoral solicitude, adds: “For a particular intention.” Finally he says aloud

(in Latin) the *De Profundis* with the collect *Fidelium Deus*, and so dismisses the congregation.

It may be of interest to compare this and our own actual practice with what took place in the parish churches of England before the Reformation. Then, also, it was the custom for the priest to ask the prayers of the people during the parochial Mass for a given set of intentions. *Biddan* is the old English word for "to ask," and *Bed* or *Bede* is the old English for "prayer." Thus the public asking for the prayers was commonly called the "Bidding of the Bedes." Forms used for this purpose may be seen in Rock's "Church of Our Fathers" (vol. ii. 365), in H. O. Coxe's "Forms of Bidding Prayer," in "Exeter Cathedral," published by the Society of Antiquaries, and especially in the Lay Folks' Mass Book, edited by Canon Simmons.* With these sources most of our readers will be already familiar. We wish to add to the above by putting before them an ancient form written probably some time in the fifteenth century, and still preserved in the Record Office.† (State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v. 1250.)

It may be noted that the Bidding prayer, though varying slightly in number, order, or wording of the petitions, usually divided itself into three main parts. These were:—

- (1) Prayers for the Spirituality (beginning with the Church and the Pope);
- (2) Prayers for the Temporality (beginning with the Realm and the King);
- (3) Prayers for the Dead (beginning with all souls and souls of parents).

These in the documents subjoined we shall call respectively A, B, and C. (Neither these letters and the numbers affixed to the petitions are in the document, but are added here for purposes of reference.) As to the time of "bidding the bedes," the following conclusions appear to be commonly accepted. In parochial churches it took place before the sermon or before the offertory. The priest stood at the entry to the chancel, but was directed to turn to the cross or rood when saying the prayers for the dead. In cathedral or collegiate churches it took place during the procession which preceded the Mass, and the procession halted for the purpose, or "made a station" under the rood-loft, so that the people in praying had before their eyes the figures of Our Crucified Saviour, Our Blessed Lady, and the faithful Disciple.

* From the forms given in the Lay Folks' Mass Book have been made the comparisons with York forms given in the notes to this paper.

† It was drawn up for the use of priests "bidding the bedes," and may be taken to represent the usual practice in England in the period which preceded the Reformation.

We give the document in italics, so that it may stand clear from our commentary.

It is endorsed

THE BEDES DECLARED BY PRESTS IN CHURCH.

It opens with what we should call the notices, and gives an alternative formula to be used according as the coming week included or did not include a first-class holiday.

Frendis, ye shall have upon N . . . [the feast of the] holy Apostle N, which day ye shall kepe as an high and a solemne fest oweth to be kept . . . [all persons of en] uffage shall fast upon it for the even. Or thus. Noo holidaes nor fasting dayes ye have not this week, but that ye may doo all manner of works that be pleasyng to God and helth unto yor soules.*

A. Next we have the "bedes" beginning with the general prayer for the Church at large, from which it proceeds to the petitions for the various orders of the spirituality.

1. *Ye shall knele down upon yor knees and make yor speciall pryers to Almyghte God and our lady Saynt Mary,† and all the holy companye of heyren for the good stad and pees of all holy church, that God mayntene, save and kepe it.*

2. *Fyrst for oure holy fader the Pope of Rome,‡ with all his trew college of Cardynalls,§ Archbushops, and busshops, abbats, priors, monks, chanons, persons, vicars, parish priests, in especially for the Archebushop of Canturbury, metropolitane and primate of England, so and also for my lorde of N. our diocesane.*

Next we have a relic of crusading time, in the petition for the

* "Der Frendes" is a formula used in York.

The formula given by Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers," vol. ii. 365), which was abridged and copied by Thomas Becon from the *Liber Festivalis*, opens as follows:—

"Masters and frendes: as for holy dayes and fasting dayes ye shall have none thys weke, but that ye may doe all manner of good workes, that shall bee to the honoure of God, and the profyt of your own soules. And therefore after a laudable consuetude, and lawfull custome of our mother holy Church, ye shal knele down moving your heartes unto Almightye God, and making your speciall prayers for the iii estates concerning all Crysten people—that is to say, for the Spiritualitye, the Temporalitye, and the Soules being in the paynes of Purgatorye. Fyrst, for our holy father the Pope with all his Cardinalls, &c. &c."

+ "And to the gloryous Virgyn his moder, Our Lady, Saynt Mary."—In York form, printed by W. de Norde in 1509 ("Lay Folks' Mass Book," p. 75). "Our lady Saynt Mary, and to all the feir falychip that is in heven," is in an earlier York form.

‡ The most ancient of all the forms of English bidding prayers dating from Anglo-Saxon times has

"Wutan we gebiddan for urne
Papan on Rome, for urne
cyning, forne Arcebisceop."

Thus "the Pope, the King, and the Archbishop," was the order in which the Anglo-Saxon Church prayed for the powers that be.

§ Here the York formula inserts, "For the patriark of ierusalem and especially for the holy Cross that God was done upon."

Holy Land, thus placed in the midst of the prayer for the spirituality as a church interest of the first magnitude, and one which in those times lay very near to all Christian hearts.

3. *Ye shall praye also for the Holy land and the . . . [temp] le that God may send it into* crysten mennes hands the more to be honored for our pryers.*

4. *Ye shall pryge also for all men and women . . . in what order, estate, or degre soever the stande in, from the highest estate unto the lowest degre.*

Then the petitions return to the clergy, first parochial and then monastic. (The allusion to the Abbot of Westminster points to the formula being used in some church appropriated by the abbey and served by one of its vicars.)

5. *Ye shall pryge also for all them that have care and charge of mans soules as persons, vicars, and parish prests,† and in especially for the Abbot of Westmynstyr with all the covent [and for Master Vicar of N. which hath]*

The writer of the formula had written the words we put in brackets, but apparently thought better of it, for he has erased them and substituted

and for the Vicar of this Chyrche which hath charge of yo^r soules, and for all prests and clerks that serce in this chyrch or hath served therein wher through Goddes servis hath ben or is the better upholden or mayntened.

6. *Ye shall pryge also for all them that hath taken any holy ord^r of profecion upon them that God give them grace to observe and kepe it to the plesur of God and helth of theyr soules.‡*

The bedes having covered in these six petitions the whole field of the spirituality, enter into the second section—the domain of the temporality.

B.—1. *On the second partie, ye shall praye for the unyte and pees of all Christn realmes, and especially for the good state, pees and tranquilityte of this noble realm of England—that is to say, for our sovereyn lorde, the Kyng, the Queyn, with all oder noble lords§ and stats of this realme,*

* "Out of hethen mennes hands."—York form.

† Here, after the prayer for the clergy, an ancient York form adds the following beautiful petition, in the robust north country speech, for the happy co-operation of priest and people:

"That God give thame grace so well for to teche thare suggesttis, ilke curat in his degre, and the suggesttes so weil to wyрке efter heylfull teching that both the techers and the suggesttes may com [to] the blys that aye sall last."

‡ "And for all manner of men and women of relygion, that God give thame grace, perseverance in onest and clene relygyon kepinge."—Early York form.

§ The early York form puts in the Commons: "And for the peris and lordes, and the gode communers of the lande." The Diocese of York, from its nearness to the Border, had close and constant acquaintance with its troublesome Scotch neighbours. So in praying for the "profeitt and weillfare of the rem" (realm), it vigorously adds, "and schame and senchyp (sinking) to ouer exemyse, gaynstanding and restrenyng thare power and thare males (malice)."

that God may give them grace soo to counsell, rule, and governe that God be pleased, worship to them, and profette unto the realme.

The next petition marks the solicitude of the Church for her unborn children and future members.

2. Ye shall praye also for all women that ben in our ladyes bondes that God may send the child ryght shape and christendom and the moder purificacion of the holy Church.

By "Tilmen tythers" is meant farmers paying tithe.

3. Ye shall praye also for all trew tilmen tythers* that God encrease and multiplie ther goods.

4. Ye shall praye also for all manner of fruits that be set, sown, or doon upon the erth that God may send such seasonable weder that they may grow, encrease, and multiplie to the sustentacion and helpe of all cristen pepull.

5. Ye shall praye also for all them that be seke or dyseased in this parishe or any parishe that God may send to them helth and the rather for our prayers.†

6. Ye shall praye also for all trew pilgrymes and palmers that hath taken ther wey to Rome, Jerusalem, Saynt James, or any oder holy place that God send hus part of ther gats ["gates"—i.e., journeyings]‡ and them part of our prayers.

[Here, in the York form, prayer was offered for all who were "in dette or in dedely sinne," that "God in his mercy bring tham some oute thereof," and for the perseverance of all who were in grace. Here, also, this part of the Bedes was broken by a Pater Noster, Ave and Gloria, suffrages and three collects.]

The next bede was for the benefactors of the Church, and we commend to the notice of the clergy the fact that the encouragement of prayers is held out not only to actual givers but to those who persuade others to give.

7. Ye shall praye also for all them that find any lyght in this church or gyffyth any bequest as book, bell, chales, vestment, autyr cloth . . . any oder adornement where through Goddes servis hath ben or is the better upholden and mayntened; and for all them that geve any good counsell thereto that God may reward them in ther most nede.

The offering of the holy bread or "pain bénit" was the custom here in England before the Reformation, as it still is in France. It was given by the parishioners in turn.

* The York form uses for tithes the Northern word "tendes," and prays for them that loyally pay them—"to God and Holy Church"—and also for them that do not, "that God of his mercy brynge theym sone to amendement."

† The York form is wisely alternative: "And turne them to the way that is most to Goddes plesure and welfare of theyre soules."

‡ "That God of his goodnes graunte them parte of oure good prayers, and us parte of theyr good pylgrimages"—"for all pilgrims and palmers and for all that any good gates has gone or shall go" are found in York forms.

8. *Ye shall praye also for them that this day gyveth bred to be hallowed, for him that fyrst beganne and them that longest holdyth on.**

[Here the York form introduced prayer to Our Lady : "For thame and for us and for all other that need has of prayer in wirchyp of our lady Saynt Mary ilk man and woman hayls oure lady with V. aves." This was followed by the anthem *Ave Regina Cælorum* (or *Regina Cæli* in passhal time) and the collect. Another form has : "In worship of our lady Saynt Marye and her Vjoyes."]

The Bedes next enter into the third division—the prayers for the dead. We may note the prominence given to spiritual kinship.

C.—1. *On the third partie, ye shall praye as ye be bounde for yor faders soules, for yor moders soules, for yor godfaders soules, yor godmoders soules, yor godbrothers soules, yor godsisters soules, yor grandfaders soules, yor grandmoders soules, with all yor godfrendes soules, and for all those soules that be in the bitter paymes of purgatory their abydyng the mercy of Almyghty God. 2. In especially for those soules that have most nede and lest helpe : † with all the soules whose bones rest in this Church or Church yarde or any oder holy place.*

Every man and womon of yor charyte say PATER NOSTER and an AVE DE PROFUNDIS CLAMAVI.‡

So ends the document.

The custom of "bidding the bedes" in our ancient parish churches was undoubtedly a constant and powerful means of keeping before the minds of the Catholic people the sublime doctrine of the Communion of Saints, and at the same time the duties of Christian charity towards the Church and State, towards their neighbour, and to the Faithful departed. The very recital of the petitions—too long, alas ! for the unmortified impatience of our nineteenth century—was a continuous preaching of these doctrines and duties, and surely none the less practical because combined with public prayer.

Let us prize and venerate the more what remains to us of the olden time, and who knows if, later on, some of our zealous clergy may not feel inspired to attempt, *pro loci et temporis circumstantiis*, a prudent and partial revival of the practice !

J. MOYES.

* For those that first started the custom, and those who will longest continue to maintain it. The same expression was used in the North.

"We salle also pray for thame that this day gafe brede to this holy kirk, brede to be made of ; for thame it first began and longest holdes opon."—Early York form.

† "And specially for all yos sallys that has most nyde to be prayed for and fewest frendes has."—York form.

‡ "And that oure prayers myght sumwhat stand thame in stede ilk man and woman helpe hertly with a *Pater Noster* and *Ave*," "and now ilk man and woman say iii *Pater Noster* and ii *Ave Maria*, and have Goddes blyssyng and our ladys and all holy kyrks."—York forms.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION "FULL OF GRACE"
IN LUKE I. 28.

ONE of the results of Mr. Rendel Harris' most acute and suggestive "Study of Codex Bezae" is to call attention to translations of phrases and words in Scripture, and to test their antiquity by the rules he has laid down. The Vulgate rendering of *κεχαρισμένη* by "*gratia plena*" is so interesting in itself and in relation to textual criticism, that I venture to point out how Mr. Harris' rules affect it; though circumstances hinder me from completing the evidence as I should wish, I may induce some one better qualified to take the subject up. Mr. Harris, having numerous instances before him where D (Beza's Codex) departs from the received Greek text, but agrees with the Syriac and Egyptian versions, argues that in such cases the old Latin is the original, and that the Oriental scribes had it before them when making their translations. This would carry back the age of the Latin version beyond the time of Origen; and if we add the frequent concurrence in these variants of the relics of Tatian's Harmony, we are obliged to go back, at least for the Gospels, as far as the middle of the second century.

When we come to apply these canons to the passage in question, the first thing to note is that D reads: "*Et introiens angelus ad eam dixit habe benedicta.*" It would be interesting to know the origin of this variant, which on Mr. Harris' principle we should not expect; perhaps he may add to a future edition of his book some account of the divergences of D from the other old Latin texts. Nor can we appeal to the translations of Hermas or St. Irenæus, nor to Tertullian, as they do not appear to quote the passage. This is the more to be regretted in the case of St. Irenæus, because he has an interesting variant in a neighbouring verse—"Ecce ancilla tua domine"—apparently due to independent translation (reading *σὺ* instead of *τοῦ*), where D goes with the ordinary reading.

But the term "full of grace" is found in the Peshitto, and must have been read by St. Ephrem in the MS. before him; it is also—as Fr. Livius quotes Fr. Morris—found in the Coptic, though he does not say in what version. Later evidences of it in the East are to be found in the apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy, and in the passing of Mary. Finally, Tatian in Ciasca's version reads (i. 28): "*Ave gratia plena, dominus noster tecum.*" We may therefore conclude, if Mr. Harris' principles hold good, that the Vulgate rendering is at any rate as old as the middle of the second century, and belongs to the earliest translation of the New Testament.

It may be remarked that D also departs from the Syriac and Egyptian versions in the latter part of the same verse, by inserting the gloss "benedicta tu in mulieribus," which they omit. No doubt the original translators were led to choose a periphrase by the difficulty of giving the force of the perfect participle in Latin and Syriac, and by the rarity of the Greek verb, which Origen remarks on. St. Justin has a like expression in his well-known parallel between the Blessed Virgin and Eve (Dial. 100).

The equivalent selected by the translators lay to their hands in Acts vi. 8, where the inspired writer speaks of St. Stephen as πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως; concerning which we may note that the metaphorical use of πλήρης is in the New Testament confined to St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, and is especially common in the sixth chapter of the latter.

J. R. GASQUET.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Italian Africa.—Mr. Theodore Bent's* archæological journey to explore the ruins of Aksum, the ancient Sabæan capital of Ethiopia, led him through the Italian possessions on the Red Sea and adjacent mainland. He landed on January 2, 1893 at Massowah, which, despite its great heat, he describes as otherwise healthy, free from fever and malaria, and exempt from insect plagues. The officers of the garrison declare it to be less unhealthy than many of their home stations, as a few weeks' sojourn on the high plateau restores the vigour lost in its torrid atmosphere. A light railway has been constructed for a distance of twenty-seven kilometres across the littoral plain, the traversing of which was the most trying part of the journey into the interior. From its terminus at Sahati, the ascent of the plateau begins on mule back, at first by a series of terraced plains each higher than the other, and afterwards by a steep and winding, but good road, which the Italians have by this time constructed as far as Asmara, on the high plateau between seven and eight thousand feet above the sea. The earlier part of the ascent is through rich vegetation with orchid-draped forests, and gladioli and other flowers in blossom, but these are exchanged higher up for the strange quolquol forests characteristic of the country, composed of the *Euphorbia candelabrum*, so-called from its rigid ramification suggestive of a many-branched candlestick. The climate and general aspect of the country at the high levels reminded the author of Mashonaland, greater elevation here compensating for closer vicinity to the equator. The Ethiopian plateau, when the *ciglione* or "eyebrow" of the land is attained, forms a vast, almost unbroken plain, save where it is cut deeply into by the river beds, or where the Semyan and other mountain ranges rise some 15,000 ft. high. Asmara, the Italian outpost towards the interior, is a strong and well-fortified position, surrounded by detached villages in which the native troops, both Mussulman and Abyssinian, are quartered. An experiment in agriculture has been tried here by an Italian colony, successfully, as far as cereals are concerned, but with disappointing results as regards vines and olives. The latter, though indigenous

* "The Sacred City of the Ethiopians." By J. Theodore Bent. London: Longmans. 1893

and growing freely in a wild state, do not flourish under cultivation, and the imported plants give little hope of furnishing a remunerative industry. The climate of the high ground in Abyssinia is bracing and invigorating, while that of the low river valleys is so much the reverse, that a single night passed in them means infallible inoculation with malarial fever of the worst type.

Natives of the Abyssinian Border.—The market of Asmara, attended by the native population from miles around, gave opportunities for the study of their habits and customs. Ornament is more regarded in dress than cleanliness, and the women, while lavishing embroidery on their tunics and drawers, and loading their necks and fingers with silver chains and rings, leave their hair fixed in its elaborate coiffure for an indefinite time, and when it is renewed on some great occasion, add the finishing touch by placing a pat of rancid butter on the summit and leaving it to melt in the sun. They ride, like the men, with bare feet, and in the ring stirrups admitting the great toe alone. Nominal Christianity is in Abyssinia found compatible with polygamy on the part of the chiefs, and with a universal laxity of domestic morals in all classes. The religious marriage is, indeed, binding, not only for life but in perpetuity, while the civil ceremony, celebrated with inordinate festivity, is a mere temporary contract dissoluble at will, and is the form of union generally prevailing, the intervention of the Church being sought only by elderly couples. They live thus in a state of practical excommunication, being denied the sacraments until ecclesiastically married, and the result is to render their morals, as Cardinal Massaia repeatedly declares, rather more degraded than those of their Mussulman neighbours. Their worship is, according to the same authority, a mixture of Judaism and paganism, the Tabot or wooden image of the Ark of the Covenant forming the central object of adoration, and animal sacrifices being practised to such an extent as to render the precincts of the churches on some occasions perfect shambles. Their habitations are loathsome from their total absence of the most elementary ideas of cleanliness, and their cookery is rendered disgusting by the same cause. Their favourite grain is a sort of rye called *teff*, which is made into flat cakes like crumpets, of a chocolate brown colour. Their cattle are in some districts of the Indian species with humps and long dewlaps, and beef eaten raw with a fiery sauce of chillies and other condiments is their favourite delicacy. Fermented honey and water, forming a sort of hydromel

called *tedge*, is brewed in vast quantities on festive occasions, and drunk on such a scale as to produce stupefying intoxication.

Abyssinian Antiquities.—Mr. Bent's journey was successful in its main object of throwing light on the early history of Ethiopia by his exploration of the remains at Aksum, its sacred city, and other places in the province of Tigré. There seems little doubt that the ancient Aksumite Empire, flourishing down to the middle of the sixth century, had its first capital at Yeha, where some interesting remains were discovered by him, and was transferred to Aksum before or about the Christian era. It was founded by a Sabaean colony from Southern Arabia, originally attracted by the rich products procured by trade with the interior, and it introduced the form of sun worship characteristic of Arabia, of whose influence Mr. Bent finds traces in the present Abyssinian Church. Among the remains described and photographed by him are an avenue of obelisks ranging from rude stone monoliths to highly-finished and decorated columns, and a series of early inscriptions commemorating successful wars and expeditions of pre-historic rulers.

Journey Through the Yemen.*—Mr. Harris, in 1892, when the rebellion against Turkish authority was still convulsing the Yemen, effected a successful journey through that little-known region. Constituting as it does, the south-west corner of Arabia, it is divided into three different zones. The first is the Tehama, or littoral plains fringing it to the south and west, forming a desert tract in which the rainfall is scanty, the climate sultry, and vegetation almost absent, except in the oases scattered over its surface. From these lowlands great ranges of mountains, parted by wide and fertile valleys, rise to a height of 14,000 to 15,000 ft. forming the Jibal or highlands. Here the abundant supply of water vivifies an exceptionally fertile soil, causing that luxuriance of production that won for this country the name of Arabia Felix. This is the home of the coffee shrub, grown on the lower slopes, whose steep sides are cultivated in terraces irrigated by the streams that dash down their sides. Not only is the mountain country much more temperate than the scorching plains, but it is, moreover, fertilised by two wet seasons in spring and autumn. The third region is the high plateau

* "A Journey Through the Yemen." By Walter B. Harris. Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1893.

of central Yemen, of which the mountains form the steep scarp. A vast and barren plain lying at an average altitude of some eight thousand feet above the sea, with black ridges of volcanic rock breaking its arid level, it is verdant only after the rainy season. The surrounding mountains, wherever they come in sight, are shattered into the most fantastic pinnacles and spires, on the summits of which are seen crag built villages and towers. In some places this table-land is riven into chasms by the rivers, which run thousands of feet below its level in narrow gorges with precipitous sides like the cañons of America. From their brink the coffee groves and villages are visible far below, while the distance is closed by peaks of the wildest and most extravagant outline. The camel of the highlands, a dark and rough-haired creature, traverses roads which would be impassable for ordinary mules. The crags are tenanted by innumerable monkeys, and the plateau is the home of a wonderfully resplendent lizard, sheathed in armour of gorgeous metallic blue.

History and Ethnology of the Yemen.—The Yemenite nation consists of two main branches, the Ishmaelites, who claim descent from the son of Hagar through Adnan, a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar, and the descendants of Kahtan, identified with the Joktan of Scripture, of the line of Shem, another of whose posterity, Hazarmaveth, gave his name to Hadramaut. Recent investigations show reason to believe, on the authority of early inscriptions, that Yemen was the seat of a very ancient civilisation, contemporary with that of Egypt, if indeed it were not, as some theorists conjecture, the mysterious land of Punt, whence the people of that country brought their peculiar form of culture. The existence of two great dynasties is at least held to be established, of which the first, the Minaean, numbered thirty-two kings whose names are recorded, and who seem to have ruled the country as far as the Isthmus of Suez. Subsequent to them, after a considerable interval, come the Sabaean kings, who can be traced back to the time of Solomon, a thousand years before Christ. To their dynasty it is believed the Queen of Sheba belonged, as that country is identified with Saba, the capital of the Sabaean Empire, a city lying some days' journey to the north-east of Sanaa, the present capital of Yemen. A vast dam or barrage, probably for irrigation purposes, still exists, though in ruins, to attest the pre-historic grandeur of these rulers, as it is supposed to have been built some 1,700 years B.C., and its bursting about 120 A.D. was a catastrophe which carried devastation through the fertile valley below it.

Annexation of Pondoland.—The country now about to be brought under civilised rule in South Africa, by an arrangement with its paramount chiefs, is about the size of Wales, which it is said by a correspondent in the *Times* of March 24 to be not unlike in some of its features. Having hitherto been a sort of buffer state between the Cape Colony and Natal, it remained under unchecked native rule, and was the scene of the most horrible atrocities. Its inhabitants, numbering about 150,000, are an indolent people, inferior in morality to either Kafirs or Zulus, and distinct from both. The arbitrary will of the chiefs has been the only law, and every species of property either in land or food was held in common. It is a country of considerable capabilities, and a valuable addition to the English South African Empire. Its surface is diversified with hills and valleys, the former rising in places to a height of 3,000 ft., and vegetation is everywhere luxuriant, firs and palms, bananas, oranges, lemons, cotton, and tea flourishing side by side. It is in the abundance of its water supply that it more especially surpasses the adjoining countries, for it is not only traversed throughout its length by the St. John river—compared for the lower twenty miles of its course in depth and width to the Thames at Hammersmith—but a number of tributary streams form a network of water channels over its entire surface. It contains in addition, at the mouth of its principal river, the best harbour between Table Bay and the Portuguese territory, with its entrance marked and guarded by two great rocks, 2,000 ft. high, forming the Gates of St. John, through which the river passes to the sea. These natural beacons, forming a striking feature on a low-lying coast, add to the value of the anchorage inside, which is capacious enough to accommodate half the British Navy. A little dredging will enable the bar across the entrance, already deeper than those of the other harbours on the coast, to be crossed by the largest ships, thus rendering it, at a comparatively small outlay, one of the principal outlets of that part of Africa.

Franco-German Delimitation Treaty in West Africa.—The agreement arrived at between France and Germany last March, as to their respective spheres of influence in West Africa, settles some of the outstanding questions with regard to that portion of the continent. The net result is to give the latter Power an irregular wedge of territory, narrowing from a coast line extending for 120 miles along the Bight of Biafra, to a small strip of the southern shore of Lake Tchad, where the mouth of the Shari is fixed as the eastern limit of her aspirations. The difficulty about according to

France a means of access to the Niger system was solved by a compromise, the boundary line being deflected here so as to give her a station on the Mayo Kebbi, a tributary of the Benue, while a similar concession to Germany in the basin of the Congo, places her in contact with the Sangha river, an affluent of that great stream. The Anglo-German agreement of November, 1893, together with the Anglo-French arrangement of August, 1890, admits the whole of Bornu as within the sphere of British influence, which thus includes the greater portion of the western and some of the southern shore of Lake Tchad. East and south of that sheet of water are Baghirmi and Wadai, two powerful States, whose destinies are still unsettled, though the retirement of Germany from this portion of the field leaves France and England the sole claimants of the right to control it. Still further east, the three ex-Egyptian provinces of Darfur, Kordofan, and the Bahr-el-Ghazal, secured to England by treaties with Germany and Italy, have not yet been recognised by France as within her sphere, and may therefore be the subject of dispute later on. The same may be said of the French claims to territories in Muri and Adamawa, founded on treaties with native chiefs negotiated by Lieutenant Mizon, in contravention of the prior rights of the Royal Niger Company. The latter association, which first opened up these countries, seems, on the evidence as yet before the world, to have been hardly treated, as it is cut off from expansion eastward by concessions to Germany, while the dispute arising out of Lieutenant Mizon's filibustering raid on its territories is as yet unsettled.

British Central Africa.—Under this collective heading are now known those vast territories north of the Zambesi, lying between the German and Portuguese dominion on the north and south and the Congo State on the west. According to statistics given from authoritative sources in the *Times* of January 22, the area of the entire is no less than 500,000 square miles—larger than the German and Austrian Empires together—and is divided into the “sphere of influence,” extending from Uganda to the coast, hitherto administered by the British East Africa Company, and the “British Central African Protectorate,” comprising Nyassaland, ruled by an Imperial Commissioner, who is also, by special arrangement, the representative of the British South Africa Company. The latter body contributes to the expenses of administration a quota, amounting in 1892 to £10,000, and in 1893 to £27,500, to which a further £5000 a year will be added as soon as the Barotse country on the Upper Zambesi is taken up. In the latter region is found the bulk of the native

population, roughly estimated for the entire of British Central Africa as 4,000,000, while the European settlers number but 237, of whom 210 are British subjects. The Shiré Province, the seat of administration, with Blantyre, containing 4,000 inhabitants, as its capital, is administered on the lines of a Crown Colony, and divided into eight districts with at least two officials stationed in each. Nine post-offices and seven custom-houses mark the development of this region, where roads are being made in all directions, and thousands of acres are planted with coffee shrubs, now in full bearing and yielding a berry which commands a high price in the London market. Ivory is the staple of the trade on Lake Nyassa, as elephants still abound in British Central Africa, which furnishes about a fourth of the total export of the continent, though much of it passes through Portuguese territory to the coast. The trade of the Protectorate amounted in 1892 to £80,000, including in nearly equal proportions exports and imports.

Travels in Hadramaut.—Those enterprising travellers, Mr. Theodore Bent and his wife, have followed up their Abyssinian explorations with a trip to the little-known region of Hadramaut in Southern Arabia. While the name is generally applied to great part of the coast of that country, the Hadramaut Valley proper is a depression running from west to east about 150 miles inland. Although reached by the German naturalist, Herr Leo Hirsch, in the course of the previous year, it has been almost unvisited by travellers, and the importance of adding to the scanty stock of knowledge concerning it induced the Indian Government to send a competent surveyor, Imam Sherif, with the expedition. The authorities at Aden, nevertheless, threw many difficulties in the way of its starting, and the interpreter they supplied to it proved rather an incumbrance than an assistance. From Aden the journey was made by sea to Makulla, the Sultan of which is in British pay, and thence Shibam, the capital of Hadramaut, was reached in January of this year. Here they found an unexpected ally in the Sultan—favourably predisposed towards Englishmen by long residence in India—and with his assistance the valley was very thoroughly and satisfactorily explored. The most interesting result was the discovery of the ruins of an ancient city beyond its northern boundary on the edge of the great central desert of Arabia. Exploration of these remains may throw some light on the interesting problem of the early civilisation of Southern Arabia and its connection with that of Egypt. Mr. Bent's journey may thus prove supplementary to that of Mr. Harris through the Yemen noticed on a foregoing page.

The geography of Southern Arabia has been much elucidated by the expedition, as Imam Sherif has made a complete map of the country traversed. Its present barrenness, as contrasted with its former production of gums and spices, is due to the total destruction of the forests, and consequent desiccation of the soil. The valleys are now choked with sand blown down from the northern deserts, and cultivation is only possible where water can be obtained by boring through its superincumbent layers. Mr. Bent believes that these valleys were at one time arms of the sea stretching inland towards the central plateau, and that the level of the entire coast has been raised by the process which has made them dry land. The inhabitants, along the route chosen for the return journey, were extremely fanatical, and the villagers in some places fired on the party.

American Polar Expedition.—The resuscitation of interest in Arctic discovery is evidenced by the number of attempts now projected for the attainment of very high latitudes, if not of the Pole itself. One of these has been planned by an enterprising Washington journalist, Mr. Walter Wellman, who left New York on March 14, *en route* to Norway, whence he is to sail for Spitzbergen, the basis of his expedition. His three American companions, Professor Owen B. French, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Dr. Thomas B. Mohun, a Washington physician, and Mr. Charles C. Dodge, a capable artist and photographer, have been chosen out of a number of volunteers. In Norway the party will be reinforced by ten additional members, already experienced in similar travelling. Starting from Tromsø early in May, they were to direct their course to Dane's Island on the north-west coast of Spitzbergen, where a house already exists, and where a *depôt* will be established with a sufficient supply of provisions to last a year. Here two men will be left in charge, while the remainder of the party start for the far north in aluminium boats constructed in Baltimore, and only weighing 400 lbs. each. They are provided with runners, so as to be convertible into sledges should ice have to be crossed. Mr. Wellman expects to reach the edge of the pack ice in the middle of May, his ship being available for transport thus far, and calculates that the journey over it may be accomplished at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, enabling the adventurous party to reach the Pole in fifty days of continuous travelling. The end of June would thus find them at the zero of latitude, leaving the remainder of the summer for their return journey. (*The Times*, March 22.)

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The English Expedition to Franz Josef Land.—Mr. Jackson intends to lay siege to the fortress of the far north in more leisurely fashion, establishing his basis of supplies in Franz Josef Land, for which he is to sail from the Thames about the end of July, in a ship specially constructed for ice-navigation. The party will consist of six men in addition to sailors and navigators, about eighteen persons all told. They hope to reach Franz Josef Land, *via* Archangel, towards the end of August, and there to construct a house and go into winter quarters, sending home the ship and crew, and retaining only the sledging party with some Samoyeds picked up on the Siberian coast. With sledges, dogs and ponies they will push north in the following spring, establishing a line of dépôts as they go, and passing the second winter in a more northerly position if drift wood be found in sufficient quantities to build a hut. During the second winter and summer Mr. Jackson hopes to reach very high latitude, returning to his original base for the third winter.

Notices of Books.

The Great Pestilence (A.D. 1348-9). By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B. 8vo, pp. 244. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1893.

NOT a few readers, perhaps, may at first sight be led, by the title of this work, to take it up without a suspicion of its great historical importance; or, worse still, to pass it by altogether as being apparently too technical to be of interest to the general reader. We must therefore at once declare that this new work of the learned Benedictine, Dom Gasquet, is indeed a specimen of accurate historical research, but that it is much more also; and that, in spite of much that is strictly scientific in its mode of treatment, this work is far from being what is called "dry reading." Indeed, it is full of most interesting matter, presented in a thoroughly readable style, and it altogether constitutes an important contribution to the history of England in the fourteenth century.

The story of the Great Pestilence of 1348-9 is commonly alluded to in ordinary manuals, or even in larger works, in a brief and, as clearly appears, after reading Dr. Gasquet's book, in a very inadequate manner. There is so much that is politically important and brilliant in the history of the period that the fact of the Great Pestilence is treated usually as of secondary importance only. Even a writer like the late Mr. J. R. Green failed to appreciate the enormous social consequences of the Plague known as "the Black Death," and it is clear that much remained to be said on the subject, even after the works of such writers as Professor Seebohm, Dr. Jessop, Dr. Cunningham, and Professor Thorold Rogers.

In his "Epidemics of Britain," Dr. Creighton has dealt at great length with the subject of the Black Death, but, of course, he could only write from his professional point of view, and he has consequently left out much that is of primary interest to the historian. In Dr. Gasquet's work, we not only learn the facts of the case, but we are admitted to a view of their consequences, which invests the whole subject with peculiar interest, and deserves the most serious attention of the philosophical historian. As the author himself says:

The "Black Death" inflicted what can only be called a wound deep in

the social body, and produced nothing less than a revolution of feeling and practice. Unless this is understood, from the very circumstances of the case, we shall go astray in our interpretation of the later history of England. In truth, this great pestilence was a turning-point in the national life. It formed the real close of the mediæval period and the beginning of our modern age. It produced a break with the past, and was the dawn of a new era. The sudden sweeping away of the population, and the consequent scarcity of labourers, raised, it is well recognised, new and extravagant expectations in the minds of the lower classes; or, to use a modern expression, labour began then to understand its value and assert its power. . . . As regards education, the effect of the catastrophe on the body of the clergy was prejudicial beyond the power of calculation. To secure the most necessary public ministrations of the rites of religion, the most inadequately prepared subjects had to be accepted, and even these could be obtained only in insufficient numbers. The immediate effect on the people was a religious paralysis. Instead of turning men to God, the scourge turned them to despair, and this not only in England, but in all parts of Europe.

Thus Dr. Gasquet sums up some of the leading aspects of his subject. But before dealing with those far-reaching results of the Great Pestilence, we naturally wish to know what the disease was in itself. So far as history actually goes, the sickness can be traced only from the ports of the Black Sea, and possibly from those of the Mediterranean to which traders along the main roads of commerce with Asiatic countries brought their merchandise for conveyance to the Western world. But it is clear that the pestilence had already visited the more remote parts of the East, as far as India and China. Then, as now, trading vessels were the common means of transporting the contagion from place to place. Matteo Villani distinctly reports its conveyance to Europe by Italian traders, who had fled before it from the ports on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Of the special symptoms which characterised the Plague of 1348-9, four are distinctly mentioned :

1. Gangrenous inflammation of the throat and lungs.
2. Violent pains in the region of the chest.
3. The vomiting and spitting of blood.
4. The pestilential odour coming from the bodies and breath of the sick.

To these symptoms must be added the common appearance at an early stage of swellings and carbuncles under the arms and in the groins. "From the carbuncles and glandular swellings," says a contemporary writer, "many recovered; from the blood-spitting, none." In fact, if we judge from the testimonies of the best medical authorities of the period, the disease seems to have manifested itself under two forms: one characterised by "constant fever and blood-spitting," the other by the appearance of "swellings and

carbuncles," generally less fatal in their effects upon the constitution.

We should not be probably justified in inferring from these different groups of symptoms, the presence of distinct morbid elements.

The difference in the symptoms may have been due merely to differences in the bodily habit of the persons attacked. There seems to be no room for doubt as to the contagious nature of the evil, and we are probably safe in attributing it to the agency of microbes of some kind. Considering how difficult is the task even now to circumscribe and limit the area of a given epidemic, in spite of our better medical knowledge and of the more rational views on public health now prevailing, we may well imagine how rapid and terrible the spread of the contagion must have been in those towns of the Middle Ages, where all the rules of sanitation, which we hold to be of primary importance, appear to have been altogether ignored. In the absence of all knowledge of the best means for the isolation of cases, or indeed of the requisite conditions for such an isolation, the situation appeared hopeless, as indeed it was. Many sought safety in flight, but, as we are told, succumbed nevertheless, because, no doubt, they carried away with them the germs of the disease either already in their bodies, or even more frequently in the clothes or articles of food they were taking away with them.

Whilst the Plague was at its height, King Philip VI. requested the medical faculty of Paris to report on the nature of the disease, and on the best methods of dealing with it. The doctors appear to have had practically no remedy to suggest, but they were quite clear as to the infectious nature of the disease, and strongly recommended separation from the sick, whenever possible. "It is chiefly the people of one house, and above all those of the same family," they report, "who are close together, who die, for they are always near to those who are sick." The same is constantly being said by our medical authorities at the present day, when cholera, small-pox, scarlet fever, or diphtheria come to visit us.

The Plague first reached England in the autumn of 1348, and most of the contemporary accounts seem to agree in naming the coast of Dorsetshire as the part first infected. Melcombe Regis, or Weymouth, appears to be entitled to the melancholy distinction of being the first English town where the Plague made its appearance. Starting from Melcombe Regis, the contagion spread rapidly over Dorset, Devon, and Somerset. At last it reached Gloucester, Oxford, and London. If we judge from contemporary documents at our disposal, the metropolis appears to have presented every favourable

condition for a pestilential outbreak. One slight glimpse of the state of the streets about this time is afforded, Father Gasquet tells us, in a document issued by the king to the mayor and sheriffs when in 1361 a second visitation threatened to become as destructive to human life as that of 1349 :

Because [says the royal letter] by the killing of great beasts, from whose putrid blood running down the streets, and the bowels cast into the Thames, the air in the city is very much corrupted and infected, whence abominable and most filthy stench proceeds, sickness and many other evils have happened to such as have abode in the said city or have resorted to it, and great dangers are feared to fall out for the time to come, unless remedy be presently made against it ; we, willing to prevent such dangers, ordain, by consent of the present Parliament, that all bulls, oxen, hogs, and other gross creatures be killed at either Stratford or Knightsbridge.

The disorganisation of all public services, the impossibility to enforce the laws, the almost entire stoppage of trade and commerce throughout the country, must have caused all over the land the greatest confusion. But it is of special interest to see how grave was the perturbation in ecclesiastical affairs caused by the epidemic. For instance, on February 25th, 1349, the king was informed that death had carried off the entire community of the Augustinian Canons at Ivychurch, in the diocese of Salisbury, with one single exception.

At Romsey, the nuns in 1333 were ninety in number, as appears from the lists of those who recorded their vote for the election of an abbess. After the Plague their number is found reduced to eighteen, and they never rose above twenty-five until their final suppression. We also get some idea of the consequences of the epidemic, as regards the state of the clergy, from the lists of ordination to the priesthood. Thus, the Friars Minor had two houses, one at Winchester, the other at Southampton. For those in 1347 and 1348 three priests were ordained. From that time till the 21st of December, 1359, no more received orders :

The same extraordinary want of subjects [says Father Gasquet] appears in the case of the Carmelites. With them, between 1346 and 1348, eleven subjects received the priesthood. The next Carmelite ordained was in December 1357, and only three in all were made priests between the Great Plague and the close of the year 1366. The Dominicans had also only one priest ordained in ten years—that is, in the period from March 1349 to December 1359.

It is obvious [our author continues] that the sudden removal of so large a proportion of the clerical body must have caused a breach in the continuity of the best traditions of ecclesiastical usage and teaching. Absolute necessity, moreover, compelled the bishops to institute young and inexperienced, if not entirely uneducated clerics, to the vacant livings, and this cannot but have had its effect upon succeeding genera-

tions. . . . The scourge must have been most demoralising to discipline, destructive to traditional practice, and fatal to observance.

I think we have said and quoted enough to give the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW some idea of the merits and interest of this book. In dealing with such a subject, it is easy to become dry and tedious, and the mere task of reducing to something like order the large number of documents that treat of the Plague, scarcely tends to foster in the historian a well-balanced sense of proportion. What to say and what to omit becomes often a matter of considerable difficulty. Without affirming that our author has always successfully escaped from this danger, we may certainly say that he has managed, out of the sources at his disposal, to produce a work eminently readable, full of most interesting matter, and one which obviously reflects the best traditions of the learned Order to which he belongs.

B. K.

Catholic Truth Society Publications. London: 18 West Square.

TO judge from a fresh batch of publications sent to us for notice, the efforts of the Catholic Truth Society to counteract Protestant prejudice and further the Catholic Faith are being well carried on. Abundant and excellent material of various kinds is now provided, and only awaits distribution at the hands of other agencies. It is very satisfactory to find the Society overtaking the work for which it was instituted. A few years ago the complaint was that we had little or no cheap Catholic literature; the difficulty now is rather to multiply means for its distribution. We have sometimes wondered in this connection whether more might not be done for the strangers who sometimes frequent our churches, and who, if these leaflets were given to them on entering, might read them quietly during the service. Such persons are often glad of something to read, and their very presence in church shows a willingness to learn, or at least some curiosity about our faith. Tracts distributed in these ways are more likely to bear fruit than those which are scattered broadcast outside.

The Papers on Nuns of the "Rescued," "Escaped," or "Walled-up" varieties have an interest which, though ephemeral and local, is very keen for a time; and their publication shows how well the Society works up to date. We are by no means of opinion that silent contempt is the best reply to calumnies of this description. One meets too many people who believe these silly charges simply because they have never seen them contradicted; but after the exhaustive and convincing treatment of these fables by F.F. Thurston

and Sydney Smith, S.J., they ought to be satisfied. Of course it is not every day that a popular author like Mr. Rider Haggard gives so splendid an opportunity for refuting such calumnies, and since his encounter with F. Thurston, that ingenious writer will probably think twice before again rooting in anti-Catholic garbage for the sensational episodes of his romances.

The Historical Papers include a reprint of Father Gasquet's article in our own number for Oct. 1893 on "Religious Instruction in England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries;" and a popular summary, by Rev. B. C. Laing, of the more important work of the same learned Benedictine on "Edward VI., and the Book of Common Prayer." Amongst controversial tracts we notice, besides several very effective leaflets, Mr. Gatty's letter on "The Revival of the Catholic Faith in England"; and "Why I left the Church of England," by Mr. Britten; both of which possess, in addition to very solid arguments, a personal element which is always interesting. Abbot Snow's thoughtful essays on "Christian Aspects of the Labour Question" are a well-timed reprint suited to a growing class of readers for whose needs we have not yet done enough.

The interests of those of our own household have not been overlooked. Besides some devotional tractates, there are several additions to the Biographical Series, notably a sketch of the "Dominican Martyrs in China," lately canonised; and Mrs. Morgan Morgan's "St. Margaret of Scotland," a charming portrait of the gracious Scottish Queen, much wanted in her own country, where only last autumn the eighth centenary of her death was passed by almost unnoticed. "Westminster Abbey," by F. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., is a fresh and interesting lecture full of out of the way lore; it is mainly meant for use with the magic lantern, but would serve admirably as a Catholic guide to the Royal Abbey. Lighter literature is well represented by four tales from Dr. Barry's graceful pen, entitled "The Place of Dreams," in which the preternatural element is introduced in an orthodox, but sufficiently gruesome, manner.

Altogether, although much remains to be done, the Catholic Truth Society is doing an excellent work.

A Life of Archbishop Laud. By "A ROMISH RECUSANT."
London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD has had many biographers, from his admiring contemporary, Peter Heylin, to the son of his present successor, better known as the author of "Dodo;" but there was room for the new life which "A Romish Recusant" has just given to the

world. A Catholic is, in some respects, specially well fitted to write of a man like Laud, who though hated for his Popish proclivities, was far from being a Catholic himself, and who has been so much belauded by his own side and defamed by the Puritans that it needs an outsider to judge of him fairly. The present author is well qualified by his past religious experiences, as well as by learning and impartiality, to form a fair judgment of one whom Mr. Gladstone has described as "standing upon the historic stage halfway between culprit and martyr." His work is most readable and interesting. The narrative is never dull, being enlivened by continual references to modern interests, and written in a gay, almost jaunty, style which, if it falls short of the usual solemnity of history, is difficult to avoid when dealing with the vagaries of High Churchism. Take this passage as an example: Laud had to defend himself at his trial

for using certain old Catholic prayers and ceremonies in the consecration of St. Catherine's Cree, and said, "We have separated the chaff, shall we cast away the corn too? If it comes to that, let us take heed we fall not upon the *Devil's winnowing*, who labours to beat down the corn; 'tis not the chaff that troubles him," S. Luc. 22. Exactly; and I have no doubt that it was on this principle that I once saw a High Church Anglican clergyman celebrating the communion service with a large copy of the *Book of Common Prayer* on the desk on the communion table, and a very small copy of the *Garden of the Soul* opened at "The Ordinary of the Mass," lying beside it. I asked him, afterwards, his reasons for this, and he said that he read aloud the prescribed order for holy communion out of the Anglican prayer book, and interposed in a whisper such prayers out of the Roman Missal as he thought good, adding that this was a common practice among clergymen of his school. Like Laud, he probably fancied that he was separating the chaff without casting away the corn, and as to the "devil's winnowing," he would say that of the two books upon the communion table, "it is not the *Book of Common Prayer* that troubles him," S. Luc. 22. Both Laud and my friend appear to have forgotten that such Catholic corn as the Order for the Consecration of Churches and the Ordinary of the Mass had long ago been cast among the chaff by the Church to which they belonged; or it may have been that they were uncomfortably conscious of the fact that the Anglican winnowing machine was apt to scatter the grain indiscriminately with the husk (p. 156).

Archbishop Laud is commonly but erroneously supposed to have "been the inventor or originator of the High Church school of religious thought and ceremony." In reality he adopted its principles from Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, and never himself advanced much beyond the practices of that "great light of the *Christian world*," as he styled him. If he were living now Laud would not be considered at all "High," and his theories as to episcopacy and the Real Presence would not pass muster with his present successors; still his lofty position, his energetic, determined character, his influence at Court, and especially his death for the cause,

naturally made him the chief expositor of these views in his own age, and their most illustrious martyr in the eyes of posterity.

Our author deals very impartially with some aspects of Laud's life which have a special interest to Catholics, such as his leanings to the Church and his relations with Catholics of his time. These latter were neither few nor unimportant, though not so frequent as his enemies urged at his trial. Laud had a difficult position to fill, particularly in days before comprehensiveness had become the cardinal virtue of the Established Church. He had to stand well with a king whose wife was a zealous Catholic, and yet to administer the severe provisions of the Penal Laws. His own theological views, leaning more to Catholicism than to Puritanism, were peculiarly liable to misrepresentation by fanatical enemies who were desperately in earnest, and had no idea of compromise in religious concerns. When he persecuted Catholics, it was generally for some political purpose, or to divert attention from his own Popish proclivities. He kept up friendly relations with an old school-fellow, F. Leander Jones, the Benedictine, and with him and others perhaps discussed projects for reunion with Rome. At times he protected both priests and lay Catholics from the severity of the law, services for which he seems to have received some recognition from the Holy See; there was certainly a proposal, when he was imprisoned in the Tower, that if he could effect his escape he should be welcomed and well treated in Rome. The story also of his being offered a Cardinal's hat when he became Archbishop of Canterbury rests on excellent authority; no formal offer of course was made, but it is highly likely that a promise was given by some personage, probably the Queen, of influence to be used for that purpose in certain contingencies. Notwithstanding these facts, which no doubt raised exaggerated hopes amongst the Catholics at the time, Laud, like most of his modern representatives, was far from being a Catholic at heart. Even on the scaffold, as a contemporary wrote:

"His great care was to shield his Majesty and the Church of *England* from any inclination to Popery;" and in his dying speech he declared: "I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to die." [Our author adds]: Whatever he may have been, William Laud was not a Catholic, and it is very doubtful whether he ever had much inclination to Catholicism. Protestants, and perhaps Catholics also, when judging Protestants, are apt to forget that a love of ceremonial and ecclesiastical pomp and power do not necessarily betoken any leaning to the Church of Christ. Many excellent Catholics, nay, many Saints, have had no taste for music, architecture, or painting, have cared little for ceremonies, and have shunned all offers of power and place as if they were the plague (p. 45).

Of Archbishop Laud, as of his royal master, it may be said

that nothing so became him in life as his manner of leaving it. Ambitious, self-willed, and tyrannical in his days of power he bore himself with dignity during his long imprisonment and upon the scaffold. It was not unfitting that he should perish in the revolt against Royalty and Prelacy which he had done so much to provoke. The chief supporter of the royal prerogative, and Charles' Prime Minister during the long suppression of Parliament, Laud was mainly responsible both for the excesses of the Star Chamber, and for the unlucky attempt to force the Anglican Liturgy upon the countrymen of John Knox. Crushing fines, imprisonment, nose-splitting, ear-shearing, and the pillory were dealt out liberally to all who opposed him—genial measures of persuasion which Tudor tyrants had bequeathed to their Stuart successors! He had long been most unpopular. "Great praise to God, and little Laud to the devil"—the well-known phrase expressed the general feeling in his regard. When, then, English Puritans, reinforced by Scotch Presbyterians, and supported by all whom Charles' tyranny had estranged, were at length goaded into rebellion, Laud was, next after Strafford, the chief victim of their vengeance. He was fortunate in his fate. The inconsistency of his position indeed pursued him to the end; "he was made to pour out his blood for encouraging 'Romanism,' whereas he died professing himself the best of 'Protestants,'" but even "Romish recusants may admire him as a well-intentioned, straightforward, and manly Englishman" (p. 480); and the dignity with which he died, if not the cause in which he suffered, has half redeemed his many faults, and invested his name with almost the halo of martyrdom. We heartily recommend this volume to our readers.

J. I. C.

The Primitive Church and the See of Peter. By the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A. With an Introduction by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 8vo, pp. 488. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

IN producing this work, Father Rivington has rendered a notable service to the cause both of historical truth and of Catholic faith. Its title indicates the purpose for which it was written. Last year, an Anglican writer, the Rev. F. W. Puller, published a book which was entitled "The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome." Its *motif* was to show upon historical grounds that in primitive times it was possible to be not only a Catholic but even a canonised saint without being in communion with the Roman Pontiff. Such a thesis naturally opened out a very hopeful prospect before

the adherents of Anglicanism, and the book could hardly be otherwise than cordially welcomed, especially by those who were prepared to read it in the roseate glow of the wish to believe. But in the cold grey light of dispassionate criticism, Mr. Puller's volume reveals itself to the reader, not as a scientific historical study, but as a skilful *plaidoyer*. There is the usual straining of the issues, and the anxious gleaming of items to make up a case; the usual laborious recommendation of the *pros*, and the frigid and listless disparagement of the *contras*; the eloquent and plausible enforcements of the points which seem to tell for the thesis, even when they are insignificant, and the curt mention or quiet ignoring of points which tell against it even when they are important or vital. We all know how any artist may to a large extent produce a caricature by still preserving the elements of the outline while changing their relative proportion. He can do so by making the head of a man gigantic, and his body diminutive, or by making the houses of a landscape abnormally lofty, and the trees abnormally small. Given a certain measure of enthusiasm in favour of heads and houses, coupled with an equal measure of distrust of bodies and trees, and there is no need to accuse the artist of conscious insincerity. The deep zeal and sympathy which Mr. Puller feels for the cause he represents, and which so often and so easily even in the best of us makes up the religion of a thesis, has, in our opinion, led him, in treating of a selected group of the primitive saints, to make the most of their discoverable points of friction or divergence, and the least of their very palpable points of union and constancy to the See of Rome. Nor is the fault of Mr. Puller's work altogether one of disproportion. His arguments, in many instances, are based upon serious inaccuracies as to matters of fact and interpretation, as Father Rivington in his article on the "Acacian Troubles," given in the April number of the REVIEW, has already pointed out. Not unfrequently, he treads upon ground from which a closer acquaintanceship with recent research would have warned him off as unsafe and abandoned, and reminded him that the German critic has passed that way. From what we have said, the reader will easily gather both the needfulness and the importance of the work which Father Rivington has undertaken, and very successfully fulfilled. His book is not only a corrective to the one which has happily called it forth, but is a substantive study and exposition of a most interesting part of the field of Church history.

The area covered by Father Rivington includes three periods. The first, from A.D. 96 to 300, deals with the action of St. Clement, St. Irenæus, St. Victor, and St. Cyprian. The second, from A.D. 300

to 384, treats of the Donatists and the Councils of Arles, Nicea, the Sardican Canons, the Pontificates of Liberius and of St. Damasus, of Gratian's Rescript, and of the Council of Constantinople. The third extends from A.D. 400 to 452, and describes the position of the North African Church in the time of St. Augustine, the Council of Chalcedon, the plot of the twenty-eighth canon, and concludes with evidences of the Eastern recognition of Papal supremacy. We must reserve until our next issue a fuller notice of the materials which are here presented, and of the arguments which are with great clearness and cogency deduced from them. In the meantime, we beg to recommend our readers, and especially the clergy, to possess themselves of the work itself, not merely as a strong weapon of Catholic defence, but as a most useful source of light and help in the accurate appreciation of a series of some of the most critical and formative epochs of our ecclesiastical history.

The admirable preface which the Cardinal Archbishop has written for this work points out with telling force the all-important principle that Catholicity is a possession which cannot be had by standing upon what is essentially Protestant ground, and turning with eyes, however longing and sympathetic, to the things which are Catholic. Any love of Catholic doctrines, imitation and revival of Catholic practices, and least of all any mere affectation of Catholic terminology, will never make any man, much less a communion, Catholic. To be Catholic in the blessed reality and solidity of the word, means moving off the heretical standing-ground, entering into the Pale of the only true and Catholic Church, laying aside the principle of private judgment at the door, and honestly submitting ourselves in all the humility of true discipleship to the Church's infallible authority. Whatever falls short of this is mere dilettantism and pseudo-Catholicity. In treating of this, the thoroughness of conversion, the Cardinal dwells upon the need not only of doctrinal inquiry, but of prayer and repentance. We note that incidentally his Eminence speaks a grave word of warning—much needed in certain quarters—against the precipitate receptions of converts, without careful assurance as to their having duly grasped the Catholic principle of Church authority.

J. M.

The Influence of Dean Colet upon the Reformation of the English Church. By the Rev. J. H. LUPTON, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, W.C.

JOHN COLET, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and founder of St. Paul's School, is one of the pre-Reformation reformers whom

English churchmen, anxious for spiritual progenitors more respectable than Wycliffe and the Lollards, are fond of claiming as their religious ancestors. In the interesting little essay before us the Rev. J. H. Lupton, the surmaster of St. Paul's School, and author of a *Life of its founder*, suggests several points in which Colet's influence may be traced upon the formularies and features of the English Reformation. Mr. Lupton writes like a typical Anglican, hovering between two schools. He is honest enough not to disguise the facts that tell against his thesis; but he is chary of definite statements of any kind, and his own pages suffice to confute the vague hints and inferences with which he is mostly contented. He repeats (p. 9), for instance, half approvingly, Tyndale's story that Colet was the first to translate the Paternoster into English, and was persecuted as a heretic for doing so; though he cannot be ignorant that abundant materials exist in our national collections, both edited or in manuscript, for refuting so absurd a fiction! It is too amusing for him in these days to include (p. 62) among the better elements in the English Reformation, its learning and its intolerance of abuses, especially as he has just been speaking of the shipwreck made by Lutheranism, and had previously quoted a Protestant preacher under Edward VI. about "the pullyng downe of gramer scholes, the deuylishis drownynge of youthe in ignorance, the vtter decaye of the vniversities, and mooste vncharitable spoyle of prouysion that was made for the pore" (p. 56). The common Catholic phrase which Colet uses in his "*Rudiments*" "*under form of bread*" Mr. Lupton finds to be "defective," and quite inconsistent with "the doctrine of transubstantiation as afterwards defined"; though, by the way, transubstantiation was defined in the Fourth Council of Lateran long before the time of Colet or the Council of Trent.

No Catholic is concerned to question that Colet exerted some influence upon the religious movement of his time; the Reformers, for example, adapted his tractates, borrowed his translations, and stole his foundations; but his influence was conservative and Catholic, and his writings and sermons are perfectly orthodox. To turn Colet into a Protestant needs the application to his life and teaching of the process applied to the regulations of his famous school. Among other devotions for his boys the pious founder prescribed the daily recitation of a very beautiful prayer to Our Blessed Lady, as well as one to the Child Jesus; his reforming successors boast of retaining the latter, but have coolly omitted the former. By the aid of similar garbling they may make some of his writings sound heterodox.

An innovator at a time when innovation was often joined with heresy, it is not strange that some suspicion should have attached to

Colet in his lifetime. The friend of Erasmus and of B. Thomas More, he had travelled in Italy under Alexander VI., and had probably listened to Savonarola at Florence; being, moreover, an ascetic and zealous priest, he was naturally eager to reform the abuses then rife in the Church. Churchmen have ever been the severest censors of ecclesiastics. But because he denounced the excesses of his day in an outspoken sermon before Convocation, because, like others of his time, he preferred to endow a school rather than a monastery, because he did not discuss technical points of theology in his catechisms for children, because he lectured on St. Paul's Epistles and encouraged the new study of Greek and the Sacred Text, we are not at liberty to infer that had he lived a little longer he would have died a Protestant. His life and teaching were wholly different from those of the Reformers. An ascetic of austere views and habits who lived and died in full communion with the Papal See, who taught explicitly the Seven Sacraments and the Real Presence, and was most devout to the Mother of God, who when death overtook him had arranged to leave the world and retire among the Carthusians at Sheen, Dean Colet would surely have found himself more at home with the Fathers of Trent than with Cranmer, Ridley, or Parker! Mr. Lupton has only succeeded in showing that Colet was a Catholic Reformer, and that it would have been a good thing for St. Paul's School and for the English Church had his influence over both been more effective.

J. I. C.

Œuvres de Saint François de Sales. Edition complète. Tome iii. *Introduction à la vie dévote.* Annecy: Imprimerie J. Nierat. 1893.

WE have received the third volume of what the *Univers* well calls the "theological and literary monument" of St. Francis of Sales. It is the "*Introduction à la vie dévote*"; and besides its intrinsic value there is a special interest attaching to this renowned treatise as being the only one of St. Francis's works of which he has issued several editions. The book appeared in 1609. The holy author re-issued it, with considerable additions and alterations, in 1610 and 1616. Of the *editio princeps* only two copies are known to exist; one of them is in the possession of the Nuns of the Visitation at Annecy, where the great work we are noticing is going on. There is also a copy of the second edition in the same monastery. An *exemplar* of the third has been lent to the Editor by Prince Chigi. It was a Chigi who, as Pope Alexander VII., canonized St. Francis; and this venerable volume bears the following inscription

in the handwriting of the Saint, showing it to have been a presentation copy:

Fay Jesus ma douce vie
Que mon ame en toy ravie
N'ay ni plaisir ni support
Qu'en ta triomphante mort.

All three editions have been used and collated in the preparation of the present text. The first edition is considered such a rarity, and also so interesting by reason of its differences from the received text, that it has been thought advisable to print it bodily as an appendix. But the copy from which Dom Mackey has actually printed his present definitive recension belongs to neither the first edition, nor the second, nor the third. It is a unique specimen, practically unknown till now, of what may be called a fourth edition, printed in 1619. It is in the library of the Cathedral Priory of St. Michael, near Hereford, belonging to the English Benedictine Fathers. As showing the very latest corrections and touches of the holy Bishop, it has naturally been selected.

Father Mackey does not agree with those who assert that the "Introduction" was composed at the request of the French king, Henry IV. In his very full and most interesting preface, however, he quotes a passage from the Process of the Saint's canonisation showing how highly that very shrewd Prince esteemed him, and how he wished him to write something which would keep people in the golden mean between too great liberty and too servile fear. Neither is it true that it was expressly written for Madame de Charmois, although it seems certain that it was to her that he actually addressed it, and that she was the *Philothea* of his immortal pages. The truth is, the substance of the book had been maturing in his mind for years. In his intercourse with those whom he spiritually directed he felt, from the very beginning, the want of a treatise which should bring together in a concise and practical form the principles of the interior life, and teach their application to ordinary social duties and intercourse. Writing to the Abbess of Puy d'Orbe, five years before the appearance of the "Introduction," he says: "If I had my papers with me I would send you a treatise which I wrote on this subject in Paris for a spiritual child, a religious, who wanted it for herself and for others." He used to send to St. Jane Frances and to others who consulted him, writings which they were to pass round to one another. Many of these are found almost word for word in the "Introduction"; they were written with the utmost care, and represented his inmost mind and thought; and the "Introduction" itself, even in its first form, was a methodical and comprehensive masterpiece, containing all the elements which he afterwards developed. At last, as early as March

1608, Madame de Charmois seems to have had in her hands what the Saint called (after Grenada probably) a "Memorial," of considerable extent, given to her by him in the way just mentioned. This she showed to Père Fourier (cousin of the Blessed Peter Fourier), the rector of the Jesuit College at Chambéry about 1603. "It was he," says the Saint, "who pressed me so strongly to publish this writing, that after having hastily looked it over and made a few additions (*accommodé de quelques petits aggrancemens*) I sent it to the printer" (p. xvi).

The first edition of the "Introduction à la vie dévote," printed at Lyons by Pierre Rigaud, was rapidly exhausted. We find the Saint at the beginning of 1609 writing thus to Madame de Chantal: "Bring me all the letters and notes I have ever sent you . . . for if I have to reprint the 'Introduction,' they will be of great assistance to me, as I shall there find a good many things that I can add; for the only complaint that I have had so far as to the substance of the book is that it is too short" (p. xviii). And towards the end of the same year he tells his friend Deshayes, "I have added many little matters (*beaucoup de petites choses*) . . . and always for the benefit of those who live in the hurry and pressure of the world" (p. xix). He added the whole of the chapter on Humility for example; he lengthened other chapters considerably, such as those on Chastity, on Recreation, and on Friendship. It is curious to find, from the Saint's preliminary note to the third edition, that, in the second, three chapters were left out by mistake—viz., the chapters on Propriety in Dress, on Desires, and on Having a Just and Reasonable Mind. Two other chapters were omitted in the second edition, that on Abusive Language (which was never re-inserted in the work) and that on Forbidden Games. The latter, although its substance is sufficiently expressed in other chapters, re-appears in the edition of 1616 and thenceforward.

But the grand difference between the *editio princeps* and those which follow it is the change in form and style. The Saint is clearly trying to make the book more suitable to the general reader—to deprive it of any special reference to Madame de Charmois in particular. The contents are arranged on an entirely new plan. Instead of three "parts" we have now five, and many chapters are transposed or broken up. Thus the second edition may be said to be the first issue of the "Introduction" as the world has really known it, for although in the following editions many corrections were made, yet there was no alteration of importance.

We have here, then, a reproduction of the masterpiece of St. Francis de Sales in a form which will probably never be superseded.

The enormous researches which have been made by Canon Mackey, and not only by him but by many investigators for many years past, whilst they have brought to light an abundance of MS. material that was never suspected to exist, are not likely to be substantially added to in the future. Beautiful and strong paper, wide margins and excellent print make the book a luxury to the *connoisseur*; although each volume is only six francs to the clergy and eight to the public. The uniform punctuation, and what Dom Mackey calls the "personal" spelling of St. Francis (as distinguished from the spelling affected by his printers and proof-readers) have been here maintained. The notes and *variantes* are abundant and clearly indicated; there is a good glossary of old words; the editor's preface is exhaustive, and full of points that have never been made before—points, indeed, that could not have been made in the absence of Canon Mackey's own discoveries of unprinted materials. Whilst congratulating him, and the Sisters of the Visitation, on this noble volume and on the two which have preceded it, we add our prayer that the great work may be happily carried to a successful accomplishment. Meanwhile, the appearance is so attractive a form of a treatise, of which Olier declared that "each chapter was a miracle," will perhaps have the effect of drawing fresh attention to it and stimulating its study. Most of us have read it once, and are acquainted with its salient features; but it is only by returning to it again and again that we can find out how rich a book the "Introduction" is. It was Pope Alexander VII. who said that for forty years he had had it by him, "reading it day and night and pondering it at leisure, in order that it might become part of himself."

It is to be hoped that this definitive edition of the "Introduction" will be welcomed in this country, where the work was received with alacrity on its first appearance. Dom Mackey repeats in his preface how Mary de Medicis sent a copy, bound in diamonds and precious stones, to James I., who took the opportunity of remarking that he wished his own prelates could write with such unction. But it is curious to find that there exists a proclamation of Charles I., ordering that all copies of the translation of the book should be seized and burnt. Was this because Charles desired to prove he was no Papist? A transcription of the original proclamation in the British Museum would have been interesting. There has been no lack, as our readers know, of Anglican translations; and about twenty years ago the late Dean Goulburn gave a course of lectures on the "Introduction," which were published in 1875.

Greek the Language of Christ. By Professor ROBERTS, D.D.,
St. Andrews. 8vo, pp. 116. Paisley: A. Gardner. 1893.

IN his "Vie de Jésus" (p. 32), Rénan writes concerning Christ: "In n'est pas probable qu'il ait su le grec." Père Didon (in "Jésus Christ," p. 84) makes the statement that "il ne semble pas qu'il ait parlé le grec." For five and thirty years Professor Roberts has devoted his energies and ability to the task of demonstrating that Greek was the ordinary language of our Lord. No one will deny that he has brought much learning and research to bear upon the question, or that he has brought forward many arguments not only worthy of consideration, but extremely difficult to answer, consistently with the supposition that Aramaic was the language of Christ. Nor can there be any doubt that if it be established that Greek was the language used by our Lord in teaching and instructing the people, fresh light will have been thrown upon the problem of the origin of the Gospels.

We must confess, however, that Professor Roberts has not convinced us, notwithstanding the apparently decisive character of his arguments. It does not seem to us so clear as he imagines that Hebrew was not the language in which the Gospels were read in Palestine in our Lord's time. We mean, of course, in the synagogues. No doubt Hebrew was not understood by the common people; but the Scriptures were interpreted for the people; and there is no reason to suppose that the interpretation did not assume a more or less stereotyped form, even though no formal Aramaic version of the Scriptures existed.

The passages brought forward by Professor Roberts to show that the people were familiar with a written form of the sacred Scriptures seem to us to require no more acquaintance with them than what would be gained by hearing them frequently in the manner mentioned above. When a great intimacy is implied, we are of opinion that the persons who are introduced are Scribes or Pharisees, or persons familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures. Mark xii. 35-37 implies that the people know some part of the Old Testament; but the passage alluded to (Ps. cix.) is one likely to have been universally familiar. When Christ explains to the two disciples going to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 27) "in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself," he postulates no more knowledge on their part than they would have acquired from hearing the Scriptures in the synagogues. Presumably, when Christ uses the words *οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε*, He is addressing learned men (*cf.* Matt. xii. 1-5). The same seems to us evident in regard to Luke xx. 27-28, where certain Sadducees

try to puzzle Christ with a difficulty regarding the resurrection of the dead. This was the point on which the Pharisees and Sadducees differed; and surely, when certain of the Sadducees come to Christ with a clever question on the point, it is no proof whatever that the common people of Palestine were familiar with a written text of the Scriptures. This was evidently a "got-up" difficulty, with the intention of trying Jesus Christ.

We may say in a word, Dr. Roberts does not convince us. Our verdict is "not proven." But our minds are fully open to conviction one way or the other. We have considered each of the texts adduced by our author, and have set down our reasons for not being satisfied with the first four that came to hand. We consider that all of them may be disposed of in the same way.

However, Dr. Roberts' little book is very interesting and very clear; and will no doubt contribute to the final settlement of this important question.

J. A. H.

Cambridge Sermons. Selected and Edited by C. H. PRIOR, M.A.
8vo, pp. 244. Methuen & Co. 1893.

"THE main principle that has guided his choice," the editor tells us, "has been to select those sermons which, in his opinion, are most characteristic of the University pulpit." We need not say that the sermons are characterised by ability and learning. The names of Westcott, Farrar, Kirkpatrick, and Ryle are a sufficient guarantee of that. But at the same time they are not satisfactory from a Catholic standpoint. There is an air of indefiniteness and generality pervading them, which, to our mind, would render them of little practical value to the hearers. Moreover, there is a good deal in the subject-matter with which we are not in accord.

Professor Kirkpatrick's sermon on "The Old Testament in the Christian Church" we have noticed before, in his volume of lectures on "The Divine Library of the Old Testament." To the volume before us Dr. Ryle contributes an interesting sermon on "The Voice of the Spirit of Truth," which contains the dominant Anglican view on the question of Inspiration. The preacher eloquently defends the Inspiration of the Bible, and protests against the idea of its having been affected by the teachings of the Higher Criticism. He maintains that inspiration does not entail inerrancy, and that the sacred writers, though inspired, erred in matters of science and history.

If details in matters of science, of history, and the like, show signs of human imperfections, if errors here and there are laid bare, whether dis-

crepancies in the Gospel narratives, or variations in the Books of Chronicles from the Books of Kings, or defective knowledge of science in the Book of Genesis, we need not conclude that the Scriptures are not inspired, but rather that the gift of Inspiration did not raise the function of authorship beyond the limits of human frailty in respect of these matters (p. 214).

J. A. H.

The Story of Ireland. By STANDISH O'GRADY. London: Methuen & Co. 1894.

AN illiterate bailiff once posted up a notice in Ireland announcing a sheriff's sale. Like a famous French king, Dagobert, with a certain article of raiment which was worn not only reversed but inside out, the bailiff not only affixed his poster upside down, but glued the printed side against the wall. The question then arose, how was it to be read? Various suggestions were made, and it was finally agreed by the wags and wiseacres that the proper way was to stand on your head at a convenient distance, and then the poster could be read. Irish readers will have to stand on their heads to read Mr. O'Grady's "Story of Ireland." We are far from wishing to be severe, as we rejoice to find some little indication among the Irish gentry of a revival of letters, and Mr. Standish O'Grady is a genial and warm-hearted gentleman. But if we allow him to speak for himself, our readers will see a certain Voltairean cynicism running through his book which renders it quite unacceptable to a reverential people. His views of saints are very peculiar.

"He [S. Patrick] was not learned in books, with the exception of one book, the Bible, which he studied deeply and knew well," p. 45. The first member of that statement is not true; and the sub-suggestion of the second is false. "Nor was he a meek man at all, but proud rather in a noble way, and liable to be carried away by great storms of anger," *ibidem*. "Many of our great saints were great liars," p. 46. "Columba, though a saint, was still a young man, was very proud, passionate and arrogant," p. 62. "All these saints, I observe, were awful at cursing, cursed on small occasions as well as great. If a man looked crooked at them they cursed him," *ibidem*. The bards "pointed the finger of scorn at their physical weakness, their fastings, their double-dealing, their quibblings and general untruthfulness and unreliableness, and the people despised them while they feared," p. 67. "Saints, though often clever, show that monastic intellect, in spite of all its reading of old books of other times and lands, was subsiding into dotage . . . the monastic system . . . perverted the understanding of men who lived

under it," p. 68. "The saints were liars," pp. 69, 79. "Adamnan kept a monk to do his lying vicariously," pp. 69, 79. "S. Moling of Leinster was a quibbler and a dodger," *ibidem*, and Ruadan of Lorrha was the same. "No simple truth, honesty, and plain dealing . . . was neither (*sic*) admired nor taught by the monks," p. 69. If the monks read all the books "of other times and lands" the system brings dotage; if they give unequalled proof of art in penmanship and illuminating MSS. they leave behind—*v.g.* in the Book of Kells—an "appalling monument of misdirected labour," p. 64. Even the saints were worse than the Danes. The saints were liars; but the Danes were men "with truth in their hearts." And when we come to Cromwell, he ventures "to predict the coming of a day when his memory will be dearer to Ireland than that of the greatest Irish worthy that we can furnish down to date," p. 132.

We are sorry that this book is called "The Story of Ireland," as there is a different and commendable book of the same name, and it is undesirable that there should be chance of mistake in the young men of Ireland reading one for the other.

But we cannot allow this book to pass through without examining very carefully the grounds for the very striking statement on p. 99: "The Pope gave him [*i.e.* Roderick O'Connor] leave to have six wives, but Roderick was not satisfied with the number, he desired a larger supply." For this we are referred to the Appendix for an extract from the "Annals of Loch Cé," as an authority, and this is the only authoritative reference we have in the book. Turning to the "Annals of Loch Cé" we find the statement there, vol. i. p. 315 [Rolls Series]. "This was the termination of the sovereignty of the descendants of Ruadhri O'Conchobair, king of Erin, for the Pope had offered him right over Erin to himself and his seed after him for ever, and six married wives provided that he desisted from the sin of the women from henceforth," &c., *l.c.*

Now our first observation is this: The "Annals of Loch Cé," or Book of the O'Duigenans, or whatever the scholars may call it, is of very great authority. It comes very closely after the death of Roderick O'Connor in 1198. To this valuable document Mr. O'Grady appeals for a papal concession of six wives. He gives the reference, and thereby warrants us as having read the document. But, alas! Mr. O'Grady's sheet-anchor is an interpolation into the body of the text of a gloss by Mr. Roderick O'Flaherty, and Mr. O'Grady's authority is no longer the "Annals of Loch Cé," which were commenced in the beginning of the thirteenth century and continued down to 1590 or thereabouts, but of Mr. Roderick O'Flaherty, who was born in 1630 and died in 1718. So the first we hear of this

amazing concession is from Mr. O'Flaherty. Now at present we are not quarrelling with Mr. Roderick O'Flaherty but with Mr. Standish O'Grady. Mr. O'Grady should have known that the "Annals of Loch Cé" are silent about the matter, for he is told so on the very same page in the notes of the Rolls Series editor, the learned Mr. Hennessy. There we read that the statement regarding the six wives is a marginal gloss of Roderick O'Flaherty. "The observations 'Roger's Children extinguished,' and 'the Pope offers Roger O'Connor six wives' have been added in the margin by Roderick O'Flaherty," p. 314, "Annals of Loch Cé," vol. i.

Where did Roderick O'Flaherty get his information? We cannot say. All we know is that Mr. Roderick O'Flaherty is far from critical, witness his *Ogygia*; that the concession is in his handwriting on the margin, such is Dr. Todd's opinion; and that the four masters who had O'Duigenau's book and copied from it simply pass over as incredible all mention of the six wives. When all is said it is Mr. O'Flaherty's, and nobody endorses it except Mr. Standish O'Grady, and gives us the "Annals of Loch Cé" when he is expressly told that it is not the "Annals of Loch Cé," but Roderick O'Flaherty.

DON ABBONDIO.

The Poetical Works of Lageniensis. Dublin: Duffy. 1893.

ALL the reading world boasts of knowing Michael Angelo as a painter, a sculptor, and an architect, but it is not generally known that he was a successful sonneteer and madrigalist. The Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon's name was for long associated with the graver pursuits of Irish hagiology and archaeological research. He now comes before us as a poet and folk-lorist, and it would ill become us—poet-priests are rare—to pass by one whose pen has served the literary world so well.

We welcome this volume from his prolific pen in the words of a French poet,

Heureuse Senderi dont sa fertile plume,
Peut tous les mois sans peine enfanter un volume,

and hope that, true to himself to the end, he will continue to glean far and wide for the benefit of future generations, the old remnants, in tradition and stone, of our local history. Irish local legends are on the wane. Where are the thrilling ghost stories, the Mass bush tales, the Pookha, the Bo-Cienthe, the Fiery Harrow, the Dead Coach, the Rolling Barrel, the White Dragoon of our early days? Go into a National School in Ireland and inquire, and you will discover that these delightful legends are practically unknown. If

local traditions are to be preserved they must be gathered soon. Canon O'Hanlon is the writer who, in the present pleasing volume of poetry before us, mostly in smoothly flowing Spenserian stanzas, enshrines some of the best of Irish legends. We have ever believed that an important service can be rendered to literature, folk-lore, and legend, particularly by the cultured and, comparatively speaking, leisured clergy of Ireland. Hence we notice with great pleasure a revival of literary work among Catholic clergymen in the Sister Isle. Healy's "Irish Schools and Scholars," O'Rourke's "History of Sligo," White's "Clare and Dalcassian Clans," and Fahy's "History and Antiquities of Kilmacduagh," are solid contributions to the literature of Ireland, and we may express hope that local traditions and parochial "remains" will be rescued from oblivion by the many graceful pens of the upland clergy all over the land.

Canon O'Hanlon's longest piece is "The Land of Leix." We hope that every Queen's County man who can read will read it. Knowing every inch of the ground, its enchanted wells, its monastic ruins, Clonenagh, Mondraheid, Armathrim—we paid a visit to St. Kevins (Caemhens) Well last summer—Cromogue with its ancient churchyard, we read with the keenest pleasure this beautiful work. With the author's buoyancy of soul we say

Fair Land of Leix, from Mairgy to Alieve Bloom
I've trod thy brownest moss—thy green Fraughmore.
Oft grassy vales I've sought where rivers come—
The Barrow deep, Awnbeg, the Gully-Nore;
Much have I wandered steepest footpaths o'er,
Climbed Cullinaghs and Fossey's hearth-strewn hills,
Viewing along their wild torrents' score,
Those hallowed courses traced by gladsome rills,
Dancing thro' glens or plains their own hoarse music fills.

The learned poet—for poet he is—has given us "The Land of Leix" in six cantos, covering 125 pages, and in it deals with the history, antiquities, battles, ruins, &c., which always, alas! alas! have such a pathetic interest for us. Whether unfolding a vision of prehistoric times, or making an allusion to the grave of a friend of early years, the Canon's pen moves with ease and elegance.

Do you desire a country dance?

but the dance

In wavering movements hailed the rising moon,
For youth and coupled beauty lively glance
And step with agile measure to some tune
With maze of motion linked; nor tiring soon
White scarfs float o'er fair maidens rounded arms
Guiding the sportive chain; nor yet impugn
Those modest pleasures love inspires and warms,
For still at nuptial feast the graceful Rinca charms.
(Canto I., 127.)

Or a Homeric battle?

Rude war hath ploughed his journeys o'er thy fields,
And stained thy surfaces with hideous track;
Spears gleaming bright, opposed to burnished shields
Meet in concussion, answering challenge back.
(Canto I., 17.)

After "The Land of Leix" comes "The Legend Lays"—a variety of legends in a variety of metres. Here we have twenty-four Irish legends gathered from all parts of the country. These may be called the grand classic legends, such as "O'Donohue's Horses," the "Voice of the Clurricane," and the "Fairy Hurlers." Miscellaneous verses and sonnets bring the collection to a close, and the last sonnet on Death closes thus:

Then let me humbly crave with parting breath
Thy mercies great to save, that solemn hour in death.

DON ABBONDIO.

British History and Papal Claims from the Norman Conquest to the Present Day. By JAMES PATON, B.A., Minister of S. Paul's, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

THIS is a resolute work, written by a man of determination. There is no indecision about him; he knows his business—he never hesitates—he labels it "*Curia Romana—Crux Brittanorum*," and he means it. A Scotchman does not want to joke, and so he opens his preface in the following unflinching vein: "If this history has in any fair degree realised the aim of its author it will in course of time be accepted as a *complete* and *final* authority on the questions at issue." And again—"henceforth" (*i.e.*, from the publishing of James Paton's "*British History*," &c. &c.) "*should ignorance misquote, or bigotry misapply, any of these memorable events in our national history, the corrective is here in every man's hand. The records of Parliament are the final authority, beyond which there is no appeal.*" If Mr. Paton lives until his book will be accepted as a history of anything, we have the gravest suspicions that he is destined to become the last man—when presumably he will accept it himself. It must have been a labour of love to have written it, as it is desperately savage, but we cannot recommend anybody to undergo the drudgery of reading it. After all, Popery on the brain is a bad complaint, and Mr. Paton has got it in such a way that he becomes ludicrous. Cromwell, William of Orange, and a few of that type are his heroes, and he writes to the tune of "Roaring Meg," while as

for the Pope, the Stuarts, the Spaniards, Laud, Episcopacy, he breathes out blood and slaughter with ferocity. Mr. Paton has no balance for writing history, and a fierce style, better suited to an inflamed meeting in an Orange Lodge, will weary a reader seeking information. From beginning to end an intemperate tirade against everybody except the Puritans, a wailing, railing, and lashing like a caged lion, but without the brute's dignity, a taste for fireworks, and a want of taste in language, are some few of the characteristics of these two heavy volumes.

DON ABBONDIO.

L'Evangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre. Par ADOLPHE LODS.
Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1893. 8vo, pp. 119.

WE have already noticed a work of M. Lods on the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. The present volume is the result of maturer study and closer inspection of photographic reproductions of the MS. of Gizéh. As is but natural, M. Lods finds many things to amend in the publications of earlier editors, and is now able to present to students a fairly reliable text, based upon a thorough and lengthened examination of the newly discovered documents.

The volume discovered at Akhim contains, besides the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter, a considerable portion of the Greek text of the book of Henoch, and also two pages of the Acts of the Martyr St. Julian. Speculating upon the explanation of works so heterogeneous being bound together in a single volume, M. Lods points out that they are not without a certain resemblance in regard to their subject-matter; they are largely taken up with the resurrection, the life beyond the grave, and the mysteries of the celestial world. Such being the case, he suggests that some early Christian had these extracts copied out and bound together, to form a kind of anthology, for his personal use, regarding the life to come.

Closer examination has done nothing to weaken the belief that in the Gospel of Peter we have the veritable work alluded to more than once by Justin Martyr, and which Serapion, Bishop of Antioch at the close of the second century, forbade to be read in his church at Rhossus. It is obvious that our fragment is not the "Gospel of the Childhood," the authorship of which was attributed to Peter by the Arabian writer, Ahmed Ibn Edris. Neither can it by any possibility be the Gospel of Peter, alluded to by a certain Raimond d'Agilles in the eleventh century. This was in all probability a document fabricated about the age of the Crusades.

Was our author acquainted with the four canonical Gospels? M.

Lods is of opinion that he used at least the first two in his composition, perhaps the third; the fourth, however, he thinks he ignored. We differ from M. Lods in regard to the latter opinion, for there are many remarkable resemblances between our fragment and the Gospel of St. John, whilst the analogies of style are not to be overlooked. We do not pretend to give a list of passages in support of our contention, but it occurs to us at once to point to § 5, in which Christ is said to be delivered up to the people, *πρὸ μᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων* (*cf.* John xviii. 28; xix. 13, 14). Again, the Jews are spoken of in our fragment as if the author relied to some extent upon the fourth Gospel, and, finally, mention is made of the apparition of Jesus by the Lake of Genesareth (*cf.* John xxi). On the whole, it seems to us that the weight of evidence goes to favour the view that our author was acquainted with the four Gospels.

How, in that case, are we to account for the fact that the Gospel of Peter is at times at variance with the canonical Gospels? We do not agree with M. Lod's explanation of the fact. He holds that the Gospel of Peter emanates from the body of the Church; that the writer was acquainted with two, perhaps three of our canonical Gospels, and that, for all that, he goes counter to their authority. In fact he is of opinion that traditions of all kinds had grown up around our Saviour's life in the early part of the second century; that these traditions had come to be possessed of considerable weight, and that the authority of the Gospels was not sufficient to have their word taken as true in every case. Hence the writer of our fragment embellishes his narrative sometimes with statements inconsistent with the Gospel history.

To our mind the veneration in which the four canonical Gospels were held throughout the second century is established beyond doubt by the writings of the early fathers. If, therefore, we find a work in which traditions are inserted subversive of the Gospel narrative, we are naturally led to attribute it to heretical sources. In the present instance, we are encouraged to do so on independent grounds. For the Gospel of Peter bears evident traces of Docetic tendencies. M. Lods, indeed, stoutly maintains that the work is not from Docetic hands; but this he seems to us to labour to establish in the face of all evidence. Whether originally it emanated from that sect or afterwards fell into their hands we do not pretend to decide; but that it bears distinct traces of their influence seems to us beyond question.

Such being the case, it is easy to account for the disregard of the canonical Gospels from time to time manifested by the writer of the fragment.

Everything goes to show the early date of our Gospel and Apocalypse, both being works of the first half of the second century. At present it is impossible to determine the exact date or locality in which either of the two had its origin, though it does not seem unlikely that the Gospel was composed in Syria.

J. A. H.

Tatian's Diatessaron. By MICHAEL MAHER, S.J. 1893. The Catholic Truth Society.

THE untrustworthy character of the methods adopted by recent critics of the Canonical Gospels has been admirably illustrated by the publication, within the last few years, of two most important works, viz., the Arabic translation of Tatian's "Diatessaron" and St. Ephraem's commentary on the same work. "Critics" had committed themselves to an extravagantly late date for the origin of our four Gospels, especially that of St. John. Moreover, seeing that the admission of a Gospel harmony, which admitted the Gospel of St. John on a footing of equality with the synoptists not much later than the middle of the second century, would upset that view, they proceeded to deny that Tatian's work was a harmony of the four Gospels at all.

Already, when assertions such as these were being made, St. Ephraem's commentary was in print, but, fortunately for their exposure, out of reach of these eminent theologians. When, however, they were thoroughly committed to their positions, the commentary appeared like an avenging deity, and before long came a Latin translation of the "Diatessaron" itself; and, what is more, from the archives of the Vatican library. The assertions of the "critics" fell to the ground. But more than that, grave suspicion was cast upon their whole system; and prudent men began to say, "Well! perhaps their other assertions will be found equally groundless when more of the writings of antiquity have been brought to light."

Fr. Maher's little work is excellent. It gives a clear and concise history of the different steps that have been taken in the discovery of the "Diatessaron," and relates all that is known of Tatian himself and his work.

It has always struck us as being strange that the "Diatessaron" should have enjoyed such a long popularity in the Syrian Church, to the exclusion of the regular Syrian version of the Gospels, especially as Tatian, even though he were orthodox when he wrote the "Diatessaron," must have very shortly after lapsed into heresy—at all events,

before his work had been firmly established as the lectionary of the Church.

That popularity is not, however, without its advantages for us. It seems to us to be a guarantee that no alterations were made in the work before Theodoret's time. There existed obvious reasons for adopting in the Syrian Church the full text of the Gospels; still for centuries the "Diatessaron" continued to be used. If the authorities at any time considered the "Diatessaron" unsatisfactory, it seems to us incredible that they would have set to work to patch it up. They would naturally, in that case, have taken up the full text of the Gospels. As long as they did not do so, we seem to have every reason to suppose that they used the "Diatessaron" as they had received it in the first instance.

J. A. H.

Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française du commencement du XVII^e siècle jusqu' à nos jours. Par MM. A. HATZFELD et A. DARMESTETER, avec le concours de M. A. THOMAS. Fascicules 9, 10 & 11. Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 15 Rue Soufflot.

THIS valuable dictionary, the earlier numbers of which we have noticed at their appearance, is making steady progress. The eleventh number carries the work to the word "emergence," so that the early completion of it in thirty numbers, as announced, may be looked for with some confidence. Each number contains eighty pages of large octavo in double columns, and costs one franc; a subscription of thirty francs entitles one to the complete work. The names of the scholars who are editing this new dictionary are a guarantee of its character. It savours of the encyclopædia, as modern works of this kind must, in the large amount of information, historical and literary, grouped under numerous words over and above their mere definition. The origin of all chief words is traced, and their changes of form and meaning within the period specified, with copious reference to the classical writers of that period. The dictionary will represent the latest scholarship. As to its more material part—its "get-up"—a word of praise may be said. A variety of types and an arrangement of paragraphs put into the greatest distinctness, the etymology, the various shades of meaning, and the illustrative quotations from standard writers.

Modern Criticism considered in its relation to the Fourth Gospel: being the Bampton Lectures for 1890. By H. W. WATKINS, M.A., D.D., Archdeacon of Durham, &c. London: Murray. 1890.

THE title of these lectures describes their purpose, which has been well carried out. The first two deal with the evidences for the authenticity of St. John's Gospel, to be found in writers of the first two centuries; here the student will be particularly assisted by the full (and, as it seems to us, conclusive) treatment of the relation of the early Gnostics, and of St. Justin to the Gospel. The third lecture brings down the history of its uniform acceptance by the Christian world to the sixteenth century. In the next two we have a detailed account of the objections raised by modern rationalists; from Evanson at the end of the last century, and Bretschneider in 1820, down to Dr. Martineau in the work he published last year. The best known authors, such as Strauss, Baur, and Davidson are most fully examined; but we believe every opponent of the Johannine authorship of the least importance is referred to, and his views are fairly tested. The result of this examination is, briefly, that the negative critics are only agreed that the Gospel is not by St. John, being diametrically opposed as to every fact and every reason on which that opinion is based. The sixth and seventh lectures deal with the defenders of the authenticity; and here the Catholic reader will miss the names of the principal Catholic Biblical scholars. Schanz and Fillicon are, indeed, just mentioned; but Kaulen, Cornely, and Vigouroux—to speak of no others—seem to be unknown to our author. With this considerable omission, the account is very detailed and complete, and will be of permanent value. The eighth and last lecture is to us the least satisfactory. The description of Ephesus with which it opens, and of the various currents of thought by which St. John must have been surrounded, will be readily accepted by believers, but is too largely hypothetical to satisfy opponents. The latter part of the lecture is devoted to urging that St. John's Gospel needs translating into modern forms of thought, if it is to meet fully the needs of the day. A Catholic will agree, but will ask, what guarantee we can have of the correctness of the "translation" (to use Archdeacon Watkins' own word), unless the translator be divinely assisted? It is the more to be regretted that he has missed this point, because he has grasped, more distinctly than most Anglicans, the fact that the unwritten revelation preceded the New Testament, and that the Apostles did not contemplate spreading the faith by means of their writings.

La Famille Chrétienne. Par le R. P. DE LAAGE, S.J. 8vo, pp. 356. Paris: A. Téqui.

THIS work is composed of a series of short and practical considerations which go to direct the life of the Christian family. The duties of parents, the family trials, the education of children, the instructions which ought to be given by a Christian father or mother, the settlement in life of various members of the family, are all treated in a variety of short and interesting chapters. A characteristic of the work is that the various subjects are treated in the form of prayers or sentiments, which are not preached by the author, but put into the mouth of the persons for whom they are intended. What a young wife should think of her mission; what a mother should say to her sick son; what a husband should think and feel at the loss of his wife; what a mother should say to her daughter; what a father should say to his son; the anxieties of a choice of vocation, are all episodes in the family life which are here put into words, which all can readily understand and appreciate. The tone of expression is naturally French, and has in some measure the usual Celtic tendency to approach all things from the side of the sublime. For that reason we hope that this excellent work may one day find, not so much a translator, as an adapter who will give to the family in this country some such text-book of what to think, and feel, and say as this does to our fellow-Catholics across the Channel.

J. M.

New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land. By BASIL T. A. EVETTS, M.A. London: Cassell & Co., Limited. 1892. Pp. xxiv.-469.

THE following chapters," writes Mr. Evetts in the preface, "have been written with the view of presenting a brief account of the discoveries, bearing upon the history related in the Bible, which have been made during the last ten or twelve years, and at doing this in a simple form, omitting all matters that do not appear to be of general interest." Mr. Evetts has undoubtedly achieved his purpose; and we may say that the volume he has issued to the public cannot fail to interest those who devote attention to the study of sacred Scripture and the discoveries that are from year to year being made in the East, throwing light upon the Inspired Word.

The volume is divided into two parts: the first treating of the history of the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions; the second discussing the recent discoveries that have been made among the ruins of the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria.

Nothing more wonderful in the history of literature has been recorded than the manner in which Orientalists successfully accomplished the task of deciphering the venerable cuneiform records and inscriptions. So utterly had all knowledge of the nature of the cuneiform writing passed from among men, that in the year 1700, Dr. Hyde, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, published the opinion that the cuneiform or pyramidal figures engraved upon the walls of Persepolis were not writing but simply an ornamental device. A similar view was held by the Abbé Tandeau in his dissertation on the Hieroglyphic Writing; and even as late as the end of the last century Samuel Witte, a professor of the University of Rostock, maintained that we have at Persepolis elementary designs of flowers in bouquets and garlands.

The first important step towards the decipherment was taken by Anquetil-Duperron, a Parisian born in 1731, who, having acquired a knowledge of the ancient language in which the sacred books of Persia were written, translated a great part of the "Zend-Avesta." Niebuhr discovered that the inscriptions of Persepolis were drawn up in three distinct languages; and finally, in the year 1802, Grotefend, the son of a shoemaker of Münden-on-the-Weser, succeeded in deciphering in the shorter cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis, the names and titles of Darius and Xerxes. From that date the work of decipherment has gone on with increasing success; till now, the records of the venerable libraries of Babylonia and Assyria can be read with comparative ease and accuracy.

The light thrown by the recent discoveries in the East upon the pages of the Bible is immense. Much has been learnt regarding the Ur of the Chaldees, from which Abraham migrated into the Holy Land; the table of nations contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis has received strong confirmation; an account of the Flood has been discovered, which bears more than an accidental resemblance to the Mosaic narrative; and finally, the history of the kings of Israel and Juda has been rendered far more intelligible and life-like. For we meet with constant allusions to the Assyrian and other monarchs that fought with the Israelites, among the cuneiform records; and we are now better acquainted with the histories of the Hittites, Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, and Egypt than were our forefathers two thousand years ago.

One objection raised by sceptics against the Mosaic authorship in years gone by can be raised no longer, owing to the newly-discovered records of Eastern history. It can no longer be asserted that writing was not practised as early as the days of Moses.

"Recent discoveries among the most ancient remains of Chaldaea

have proved," writes Mr. Evetts (p. 131), "that the art of writing was practised at a period long anterior to the time of Abraham, in the very country from which the patriarch himself is said to have proceeded. It is now generally accepted that the city of Ur, on the west bank of the Euphrates, half way between Babylon and the Persian Gulf, and represented by the ruins which the modern Arabs call Mukeyyer, was that Ur of the Chaldees where Abraham was born; and inscriptions on clay have been found there which must be ascribed to a date long before B.C. 2000."

We have mentioned only a few of the points in which the new discoveries throw light upon the Old Testament. To any one who is anxious to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the subject we can heartily recommend this volume of Mr. Evetts. It is learned and instructive, and, at the same time, written in an attractive and interesting style.

J. A. H.

The Comedy of English Protestantism. In Three Acts. Edited by A. F. MARSHALL, B.A. Oxon. London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

THIS lively little book inevitably reminds its readers of the writer's "Comedy of Convocation." It is written in the same vein of suggestive caricature, and with much of the old felicity. Perhaps its sketches of the varieties of English Protestantism should hardly be called caricatures; their grotesqueness is too true to the grotesque nature of the things described. The idea is to report the speeches made at a supposed meeting in Exeter Hall to promote "re-union" among Protestants. There are seven delegates—the Rev. Sebastian Stole, a Ritualist; Canon Courtly, a Low Churchman; Dr. Wylde, a Broad Churchman; the Rev. Walter Sterling, representing the Wesleyans; Captain Banner, on behalf of the Salvation Army; Mr. Moore and Pastor Dort, who speak for the Sects, Home-made and Imported respectively. The demolition of the Ritualist, who makes rather a weak speech himself, is fittingly put into the mouth of the Wesleyan speaker; and nothing could be more telling or more fair than the long dialogue between these two, in which the claim to be the Primitive Church is disposed of (pp. 51 to 66), or than the subsequent demonstration that the Anglican Church "cannot be said to exist" (pp. 73 to 85). In the afternoon discussion the Salvationist deputy maintains, with much force, that the book called the "Doctrines of the Salvation Army" really represents the belief of all but half a dozen members of the Establishment.

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"The Army," says Captain Banner, "does not insist on Sacramental religion; it insists only on spiritual change of heart; and, if I mistake not, the great majority of Church of Englandists are of one mind with the Army in that regard" (p. 107). The advocate for the Home-made Sects delivers a trenchant historical sketch of the treatment accorded by the Anglican Church to the Congregationalists and other early Nonconformists. "Anglicanism," he says, "was *created*, while Non-Conformism was *crushed*, by royal spitefulness, vanity, and immorality" (p. 120). He considers that Dissenters would never unite with the Church of England; the Ritualists are not the Church, but a sect, "just like we are;" the Broad Churchmen are no Churchmen at all, and very often not Christians; and the Evangelicals are really Dissenters, bound in "Pagan slavery" to the British Parliament. He asserts that it was John Wesley who gave life to Anglicanism when it was dead; and the Ritualist follows with a vehement counter-assertion that everything was still dead when the Tractarians came to awaken the country. The delegate for the Imported Sects opens out with a regular "Man of Sin" and "Pope of Rome" tirade, which calls up an Irishman, who, with some difficulty, gets in a most useful dissertation on the Catholicism of England in pre-Reformation times—against the "Continuity cry." The discussion on Continuity is carried over to the evening meeting, when the subject of "Anglican Orders" comes in. The Wesleyan delegate asks, "Can common sense justify the view that Anglicanism was in Continuity from Roman Catholicism?" (p. 194). His sketch of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is excellently calculated to settle this very pertinent question in the negative. We have only indicated a part of the contents of this useful and amusing book, which will answer the double purpose of supplying the Catholic side with good and strong material, and, we hope, of opening the eyes of many who still cherish the conviction that, in belonging to Anglicanism, they belong to "the Church"—or even to "a Church."

La Confession : Pourquoi on se confesse ; pourquoi on ne se confesse pas. Septième Retraite de Notre Dame de Paris. Second Edition. Par le R. P. FELIX, S. J. Paris: Téqui. 1892.

THESE eloquent Conferences on Confession may be specially recommended not only as a defence of Catholic teaching, but as a model for the Catholic preacher and a repertory of suggestive thoughts for pulpit use. The author is not only a man of learning, but still more a man of experience—that experience of the human heart

and life which enables him to unmask the pretexts of infidelity and to taunt the world with its inability to meet man's higher requirements, in the tone that knows it cannot be contradicted. The little volume contains six Conferences. In the first it is shown that the objections to the practice of Confession—even when one abstracts from the fact of its divine institution—do not and could not come from considerations of reason. Confession in all its elements is highly reasonable—to the extent of suggesting its divine origin. The neglect of Confession and the objections raised against it where they are not merely born of misapprehension but are the outcome of passion; the opposition between passion and confession is the subject of the second conference. The third, on the consolations brought by the confessional, is a remarkably able discourse. Confession, it shows, brings a triple consolation, and in doing so meets a triple sorrow of the heart: it cures the pain of isolation, so common to worldlings and so impossible of cure from the world—the act of Confession (*l'aveu*) does this; it cures the hardness which a life of passion induces in human nature—the repentance does this, a repentance of a kind which is found only with Confession; lastly, it cures the pain of remorse—the absolution does this, and alone can do it. The other conferences deal with a contrast between the tribunal of mercy (the confessional) and the tribunal of justice (the inevitable judgment); the effects of repentance and particularly its fruitfulness, in strong contrast with the sterility of all forms of evil life; and lastly, a touching discourse on the Confession and repentance of Magdalen. Much of the unmishtakable power of this little treatise is due, after the author's knowledge both of doctrine and of real life, to his frank recognition of the difficulties and prejudices which, whether fairly or unfairly, are undoubtedly felt and do as a fact keep people from confession and fill many minds with horror at the very mention of the practice.

Histoire du Règne de Marie Stuart. Par MARTIN PHILIPSON, Ancien Professeur des Universités de Bonn et de Bruxelles. Tome troisième. Paris: Émile Bouillon. 1892.

M. PHILIPSON'S elaborate work adds three more volumes to the immense library that contains the trial of Mary Stuart by the historians and controversialists of three centuries. There is little prospect of the long dispute being closed. But just now when new materials for history are being brought to light year by year, a painstaking marshalling and weighing of the evidence by a competent

hand will always find many readers, and will interest even those whom it does not convince. The volume before us completes M. Philipson's work, for though it brings the story down only to the surrender of Mary to the English authorities on the Border, this is the end of her reign. If he tells the story of her imprisonment it will be in a separate work. On the whole his conclusions are adverse to the memory of the ill-fated Queen. He supports his arguments with a long array of documentary evidence, much of which he reprints in the original text in his appendix. To discuss the value of his conclusions would carry us beyond the scope of a brief notice. He shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the English and foreign literature of his subject. Doubtless his work will ere long call forth a reply from some champion of the fair Queen of Scots.

The Law of Marriage and Family Relations: A Manual of Practical Law. By NEVILL GEARY. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1892.

THIS book is one of the series of Manuals of Practical Law, published by Messrs. Black, and intended for lay readers as well as for the profession. A large portion of the work is taken up by the chapters on divorce, a subject which is of no practical interest to Catholics, but there is much in the other chapters on validity and proof of marriage, on nullity, dissolution, separation, alimony, and custody of children, as dealt with by the English Courts, which it is useful even for the Catholic clergy to know. A cleric may be well read in Canon Law and in theology, and may nevertheless be very ignorant of the laws actually administered by the courts in the country in which he happens to be. This compact volume by Mr. Geary will at least put the reader on the right track to obtain accurate information regarding the English Courts, for the references are numerous and correct. There are passages in the book which show that the author wishes to prepare for a second edition, and this emboldens us to point out some flaws which might be remedied. On page 32 the author speaks of the Marriage Act of 1835, which made void marriages of persons within the prohibited degrees, such marriages before that Act being merely voidable during the lifetime of the parties. The author asserts that this Act does not apply to India, and he cites as his authority for this assertion the case of *Lopez v. Lopez* (Indian Law Reports, 12 Calcutta, 706). In that case a man married the sister of his deceased wife with a dispensation from the Archbishop of Calcutta, and the High Court of

Calcutta held that the marriage was valid; but the *ratio decidendi* in that case was that the parties were of Portuguese descent, domiciled in India, that they had followed the marriage-customs of their class, and that they had nothing to do with English law. We much doubt if this case could be stretched to cover the marriage in India of British persons who had not lost their British domicile. Unless the bridegroom, at least, had been domiciled in India before the marriage, we think that *Lopez v. Lopez* would not apply. In support of this opinion we would refer to the case of *Brook v. Brook*, and the two cases of *Sotomayor v. De Barros* in the English Reports. We are aware that those who agitate in favour of the Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister say that "Roman Catholics in India are permitted to contract such marriages," but we think that this statement must be limited to Catholics domiciled in India. So limited, the statement is true.

At page 170, in discussing the delicate subject of conjugal duty, the author goes out of his way to refer to the Canon Law, and in a note says that this topic in books of casuistry is "replete with absurd obscenities, and affords an argument against the practice of Confession." This note is out of place in a legal work, and must give much offence to Catholic readers, so we hope that it may disappear in the second edition. The first note on page 173 is even worse. In the text the author mentions that in the English Courts the offence against nature is good cause for granting a divorce against the offending spouse, and he adds a footnote: "The Canon Law considers it a lighter offence than adultery (Sanchez, bk. ix. chap. xviii.), and in certain cases even permissible." This footnote startled us, and on referring to these passages we find that Sanchez teaches the opposite of what is here given as his doctrine. It is impossible to publicly discuss this subject, so it will be sufficient to say that the author has completely misunderstood the passages in Sanchez, and we hope that this most erroneous footnote may be speedily expunged.

The chapter on Modern Roman Catholic Canon Law is fairly written, and will afford information on this subject to many. Throughout the book much mention is made of Catholic usages, and the Latin form of dispensation for a marriage granted by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster is given in the appendices. A most interesting dissertation follows upon the suit of Henry VIII. in the Ecclesiastical Courts to obtain a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine of Arragon. The author thinks that Henry had "an eminently arguable case." When all that a barrister can say of a case is that it is arguable everybody knows what will be the

fate of that case when it comes before a judge. The popular idea about Henry's contention is that the royal suitor contended that the Pope had no power to grant such a dispensation. This is a popular error. No such contention was put forward before the Court of Cardinals, Campeio and Wolsey. The plea was that the dispensation granted had not removed all the impediments, and that it had been granted on insufficient knowledge by the Pope of the facts, with a lack of *uberrima fides* on the part of the applicants for the dispensation. The contention which Mr. Geary says was "eminently arguable" was that the dispensation granted by Pope Julius II. was insufficient because it removed only the impediment of affinity arising from the cohabitation of Catharine with Arthur, and did not remove the impediment of *publica honestas* arising from their marriage. Surely, a weaker plea was never put forward, and the larger dispensation included the less. Another contention was that the dispensation was obtained by Henry VII. from the Pope on the false pretence that peace between Spain and England would be preserved by the marriage of Catharine and Henry, the truth being that the peace between the two countries was not then in danger, and that Henry VIII. was then too young to have ideas on the subject of peace. Mr. Geary says that this contention is founded on common sense, and goes to the root of the matter. For our part we cannot see how an advocate could put forward this contention with a grave face. The Pope well knew the age of Henry, Prince of Wales, when the dispensation was granted, and the Pope must have been well informed on European politics, and capable of forming an opinion on the prospects of peace between Spain and England. It is true that Henry's suit lingered for years before a decision was pronounced in favour of the marriage, but that delay probably arose from political causes.

Though we have differed from the author on some points, we congratulate Mr. Geary upon a very useful book, and if the blots on pages 170 and 173 are removed, we shall have pleasure in recommending this manual to Catholic readers.

The Means of Grace. A Complete Exposition of the Seven Sacraments, of the Sacramentals of the Church, and of Prayer. Adapted from the German of Rev. HERMAN ROLFUS, D.D., and Rev. F. J. BRÄNDLE, by Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN. Large 8vo, pp. 545. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS work is a beautiful gift-book. It is richly bound, well printed, profusely illustrated, and has a coloured frontispiece of

our Lord instituting the Holy Eucharist. Its value as a work of instruction is in keeping with its exterior dress. It bears the imprimatur of the Archbishop of New York, and inherits from the original work the approbation of three archbishops and eighteen bishops of various Sees in Germany. It opens with an Introduction on the End of Man, and then travels over the ground with which theologians are familiar in the treatises *De Gratia* and *De Sacramentis in genere*, and in the various treatises upon each of the Sacraments in particular. The doctrinal instruction is accompanied by passages from Scripture, selections from the Fathers, and is further elucidated by illustrations and examples taken from Holy Writ or from the lives of the saints. No doubt this clothing of the Faith with the *non de fide* element of pious beliefs will be well understood by the Catholic reader. Yet to many, in these days of hostile criticism, a word of warning as to the relative value of these elements would not have been inappropriate. We do not wish for a moment to deny the charm and usefulness of concrete illustration, still less to question the important truth that the lives of the saints are the living gospel written in the hearts of men, and the most splendid commentary which the Church has written upon the sacred text. But it is well to impress upon the young man of the present century, who is apt to judge of his religion as a whole, that the post-revelation miracles of which he reads here are not upon the same footing as the truths of Faith—the Resurrection, for instance, or Transubstantiation. In the instructions on the Sacraments there are some points which are open to criticism. On p. 321 it is stated that “The outward sign of matrimony and its matter is the expressed consent by which the bridal pair declare in the face of the Church, before their lawful pastor and two witnesses, their mutual consent to be married.” Doubtlessly, this passage is meant as a description, not as a definition of the matter of matrimony. All the same, the Catholic reader might gather from it that the expression of the consent *before their lawful pastor and two witnesses* was in all cases a part of the matter of the Sacrament! A like looseness of wording is noticeable in the statement of the form. “The form of the Sacrament consists of the words by which this consent to inseparable union is expressed and the blessing by which the priest sanctifies the union.” Why go beyond the theology of the Church and drive in the priest’s blessing as a part of the Sacramental form? The statement on p. 235 that a general confession “is necessary to some Christians and useful to all” would be improved by some qualification such as “to whom their confessors commend it.” Let us say, in conclusion, that the work contains a large amount of excellent matter, and while we should personally prefer that the

author had been somewhat more judiciously critical in his zeal for edification, we should be glad to see a copy of this work in the hands of every Catholic family.

J. M.

Le Paradis Terrestre et La Race Nègre devant la Science.

Par l'Abbé DESSAILLY. 8vo, pp. 320. Paris: Delhomme et Brigueot.

LET it not be any longer supposed that the site of the terrestrial paradise awaits discovery. The discovery has been made, and the fortunate discoverer is the Abbé Dessailly. The news seems almost too good to be true; yet M. Dessailly's hypothesis deserves a patient hearing and demands a careful investigation. The conditions of the problem are sufficiently well known from the text of Gen. ii., viz., to find a river which could be described as "going forth from Eden to water the garden," and which "from thence was divided and became (*hayah l'*) four heads" or branches, whereof two were the Euphrates and the Tigris, while the other two, the Phison and the Gichon, have hitherto defied identification. The real difficulty, however, has lain, not so much in the identification of the Phison and the Gichon as in the discovery of a stream having for two of its *branches* the Euphrates and the Tigris. There have not been wanting interpreters who, regardless of levels and contour lines, have boldly assumed that the Euphrates and the Tigris anciently flowed for some distance in the same bed, afterwards separating again to suit the exigences of Gen. ii. More reasonable is the hypothesis of Franz Delitzsch, who, if we remember rightly, finds the single river of Eden in the upper Euphrates, while the four "heads" are, respectively, the lower Euphrates, two of the canals—natural in origin, though subsequently improved by art—whereby the Euphrates overflowed into the Tigris, and the Tigris itself. Ingenious, however, as this theory is, it hardly seems to satisfy the actual terms of the description. Still less can we accept the fanciful solution of ancient writers (approved by some moderns) according to which the Phison is the Indus and the Gichon the Nile, considered as forming part of an ideal and impossible cosmic river system. M. Dessailly proposes a new solution of the problem which at least has the merit of simplicity. The fundamental mistake which has been made is, he believes, that the energetical explorers have gone *down* the river of Eden in search of four *branches* into which it was supposed to have broken up, instead of *ascending* it in search of its four *confluents*, for such he holds to be the true meaning of *rashim*, "heads." The problem being thus restated, M.

Dessailly finds the single river in the Shatt-el-Arab, the channel by which the united waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Kesha or Gundes (*Gichon*) and the Haroun or *Pasitigris* (*Phison*) flow into the Persian Gulf. The assertion commonly made that these four rivers originally, and within historical times, reached the sea by separate mouths is, he maintains, without serious foundation. The etymological hypotheses involved are at any rate not too violent. *Gyndes* comes at least as near to *Gichon* as does *Ganges*, which Friedrich Delitzsch favours; and if no etymological objection lies against the identification of the *Phison* with one or other of the several rivers *Phasis*, neither can M. Dessailly's suggestion as to the *Pasitigris* be rejected, on *à priori* grounds, as absurd.

But are we at liberty to ascend the paradisiacal river in search of four confluents instead of descending it in quest of four branches? Friedrich Delitzsch would say no. For although *rosh* may mean either a source (*caput fontis*) no less than a branch (*caput fluminis*), nevertheless—according to this scholar—the meaning is here determined by the direction indicated by the words “and there *went forth* a river from Eden . . . and *from thence* was divided,” &c. A serious objection, certainly, and one with which we could wish that M. Dessailly had dealt more at large. The whole question is too complicated for discussion here. It must be sufficient to state that the author deals with many other elements of the problem—the situation of the gold-bearing land of Havilah, the position of the primeval land of Cush, &c., &c.—and finds that his solution satisfies them all. What will be the verdict of the learned upon his laborious study of a question which, after all, must be faced, remains to be seen.

St. Thomas's Priory; or, The Story of St. Austin's, Stafford.

By JOSEPH GILLOW. 8vo, pp. viii.—375. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS little volume contains the history of the Catholic mission in Stafford and its neighbourhood from the days of Elizabeth to the present time. The title of the volume is derived from an old Priory of Austin Canons at Baswich, near Stafford, which became the seat of the Catholic family of the Fowlers, by whom the mission was principally maintained; though the Lords Stafford of the Castle, the Astons and Cliffords of Tixall, and the Beringtons of Winsley also sheltered the chapel at various times. The fortunes of the little Catholic flock are told by Mr. Gillow very fully. In its early heroic age it numbered several martyrs amongst its missionaries, and Stafford

gaol was often filled with its confessors for the faith. At a later and more peaceful epoch the priory became the residence of the Vicars-Apostolic of the midland district. During the gloomy eighteenth century, when indifference and apostacy were diminishing the flock on all sides, the mission declined and almost died out. About 1750 Viscount Fauconberg, of Newburgh in Yorkshire, sold St. Thomas's Priory to Protestants, and shortly afterwards apostatised himself; the chapel was then transferred into the town of Stafford, and the flock held together until in less romantic modern times it has grown into the flourishing mission of St. Austin's. The minute detail with which the story has been compiled gives this volume special value to those who are connected with Staffordshire; but as an illustration of the struggles of our forefathers the work has a much wider interest; and we should be glad if other historic foundations of the same class could be illustrated in the same able and painstaking manner.

J. I. C.

De la Liberté Politique dans l'État Moderne. Par A. DESJARDINS. 8vo, pp. xv.-365. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1894.

HERE is an excellent commentary on Leo XIII's two great encyclicals, "The Christian Constitution of States," and "The Condition of Labour." M. Desjardins does not indeed mention either of these documents; nevertheless, he treats of the same subjects and in much the same spirit. He disclaims any pretension to compose a philosophical treatise. All through he argues from facts rather than principles. He is familiar with the structure and history of the leading constitutions of the world; but his chief admiration and most frequent allusions are reserved for England, the classic land of freedom. His book is divided into two parts. First he treats of the liberty of Elections, Parliament, Judges, the Press, Combination, and Public Meeting. He afterwards discusses the enjoyment of these liberties, under the three forms of government—monarchical, republican, and social. The chapters on liberty of the press and the right of combination may be singled out as favourable specimens of his method and style. He points out that most democratic states, while professing to allow unbounded freedom in the expression of opinion, are careful to add as a proviso, "subject to the observance of the law"; and he adduces abundant evidence to prove that in fact republican governments have been just as intolerant of opposition as any despotism. The right of a number of citizens to associate together for any purpose not criminal would

seem to be one of the fundamental liberties; but no—the dreaded spectre of religion steps in and prevents the democracy from recognising the right. Here M. Desjardins is at his best. In a few pages (169–172) he exposes the hollowness of the objections to combinations, and shows how nothing but bigotry can account for the illogical position of politicians in this matter. The German socialists are not afraid to be consistent; they demand the right of association for the Jesuits as well as for themselves.

The second part is also well worthy of careful study. Shallow observers commonly think that the citizens of a republic must be freer than the subjects of a kingdom, and that socialism would secure greater liberty than either of these. But it is well to bear in mind that tyranny may flourish under any form of government, whether of the one, of the few, or of the many; that a king may be the best guardian of popular liberties, and that the multitude may be the most grinding of tyrants. Here, again, M. Desjardins triumphantly appeals to history. In dealing with socialism he is of course debarred from this method; nevertheless, he makes out a strong case against that fascinating delusion. Perhaps he goes too far in favour of individualism, but of this the reader will judge for himself. The last chapter of the book is an attempt to explain why Frenchmen do not really understand what freedom is, and why they have enjoyed so little of it. This is certainly a bold undertaking on M. Desjardin's part, and is hardly likely to secure him much popularity among his countrymen. He calmly lays bare the crimes and the follies of all classes alike: kings and nobles, capitalists and workmen. The abstract unpractical character of the revolutionary assemblies, the fickleness and impatience of the mob, the overweening preponderance of Paris, the confusion of religion and politics—these have been some of the obstacles to liberty in France. If Frenchmen ever would be free they must walk in the footsteps of their Anglo-Saxon rivals: they must decentralise, they must be tolerant, they must be steady, and, above all, they must learn to wait.

T. B. S.

The Resurrection of the Dead: An Exposition of 1 Corinthians

xv. By the late WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1894. Pp. 246. Price 4s. 6d.

THE twelve chapters into which this book is divided appeared originally as articles in the *Monthly Interpreter* and the

Expositor. It was the intention of the author to collect them together and publish them in book form. What death prevented him from doing has now been done by his friends. The book contains an exhaustive commentary on that chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians which treats of Christ's resurrection and ours; and the manner of our resurrection. We notice, with some surprise, that Dr. Milligan, while mentioning a large number of interpretations of verse 29: "Otherwise what shall they do that are baptized for the dead, if the dead do not rise again at all? Why are they then baptized for them?" omits all mention of an interpretation frequently given by Catholic commentators, viz., that baptism for the dead means the baptism of prayers and penance offered for the souls in Purgatory. To explain baptism as penance is not to put an unscriptural or an unpatristic sense upon the word. Our Lord uses the word baptism in this sense in St. Mark x. 38, and St. Luke xii. 50. St. Gregory and Nazianzen says: "I know a fourth baptism which is by martyrdom and blood. I know a fifth of tears and penance" (*Oratio de Epiphania*). The Scriptures and the Fathers call Purgatory itself a baptism. Thus St. Jerome's gloss upon "He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and in fire" (St. Matthew iii. 11) is "in the Holy Ghost in this life and in Purgatory in the next." The same interpretation was given by St. Basil before St. Jerome and by Venerable Bede after him. Accepting this scriptural and patristic interpretation of baptism the words of the Apostle would seem to imply that those are baptized for the dead who by their prayers and menaces take on themselves a part of the baptism of fire by which the souls in Purgatory are baptized. That this sense is contained in the Apostle's words seems to be borne out by the following verse: "Why also are we in danger every hour?" that is to say, "Why do I run risks and dangers in preaching the Gospel, if there be no resurrection of the dead?" The sense that we have attached to the Apostle's words are further confirmed by comparing them with 2 Machab. xii. 44: "For if it had not been hoped that they that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead." There is a very obvious objection to our interpretation, but fortunately the reply is equally obvious. The objection is that when prayers are offered for the dead it is not that their bodies may rise again, but that their souls may be delivered from pain. The reply is that the doctrines of the future life and of the resurrection of the body went together. Those that denied one denied the other; those that affirmed one affirmed the other, as appears from the Acts xxiii. v. 8. We find the two doctrines inextricably united in 2 Machab. xii. 44; St.

Matthew xxii. 32; and even in verse 32 of 1 Cor. xv.: "If (according to man) I fought at Ephesus, what doth it profit me, if the dead rise not again? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." We could not of course expect Dr. Milligan to defend the interpretation which we have given to verse 39; but since so much is to be said in favour of it, we may fairly consider it a defect in Dr. Milligan's book that, while it mentions so many other interpretations it should omit all mention of this interpretation. We are glad to be able to say, however, that we recognise Dr. Milligan's "Resurrection of the Dead" as, upon the whole, a very scholarly production.

La Foi en la Divinité de Jésus-Christ. Conférences prêchées à l'église de la Madeleine, Carême de 1892. Par le Père DIDON, de l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1894.

THESE eloquent discourses, preached in the Madeleine during the Lent of 1892, have now been published. The preacher dedicates the first Conference to a discussion of the actual position of Christian faith, and proves that it is living and powerful in the world of our own day. He then passes on to consider what he calls the "negations" which have at different times prevailed among mankind and hindered them from believing in Jesus Christ. He insists especially on the negation which distinguishes the present day—that is to say, that suppression of God in all that concerns being, life and morality, which is now the characteristic of scientific thought. The second and third Conferences are thus dedicated to an analysis and refutation of atheistic "evolution" and infidel "criticism." In the fourth and fifth he undertakes to prove the Divinity of Christ by Christ's own life and words. The sixth Conference treats of the difficulties of the act of Faith; and the eighth—the seventh being a devotional commentary in the Seven Words of our Saviour on the Cross—of the practical means of arriving at Faith. As a whole, these brilliant addresses express once more, with great power, that instructive contrast between naturalism and faith, between humanity without God and humanity with God, which has been the theme of all the preachers. They are full of life, energy, and "actuality," and the practical advice which is given in the last of the series will not prove the least useful part of their contents.

Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier. Publiés par le Duc d'Audriffret-Pasquier. Tome troisième (1814-1815). 8vo, pp. 448. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1894. 8frs.

THIS new volume of "Pasquier's Memoirs" deals with the *annus mirabilis* of modern times. As in the former volumes, the writer does not concern himself with describing the great events which were going on around him. These he assumes as already well known to his readers. His business is rather with their inner history: tracing their undercurrent, laying bare the motives of the men who took part in them, noting the mistakes of both sides, and impartially dealing out praise and blame. Nowhere else can be found a more admirable account of the embarrassments of the first Restoration, the incapacity of the new Government, the mutual distrust and sense of insecurity during the Hundred Days, the arrogance and violence of the Allies, the rage and folly of the returned *émigrés*. All through this portion of the Memoirs Napoleon still stands out as the great central figure. When we learn the difficulties of his position during his brief re-accession to power, we are made to wonder more than ever at the marvels which he wrought in his last contest with his countless foes. But Pasquier lets us see that, in spite of all these tremendous efforts, the disaster which followed was clearly foreseen by those who, like himself, were calm observers of events. With this third volume the first section of the Memoirs comes to an end. The story of the Second Restoration and Exile remains to be told. Although it has in itself little interest, we look forward with eagerness to Pasquier's narrative, and especially to his reflections on the series of blunders which once again drove the Bourbons from the throne of France.

T. B. S.

Science et Religion. Par G. DE MOLINARI. Paris: Guillaumin. 1894. 3frs. 50c.

IT is not easy to say whether a book like this will do good or harm. M. de Molinari thinks that religion is an excellent thing—nay, that it is indispensable for human progress; but then by religion he does not mean the same as we do. Faith and the supernatural have no existence for him. In his view mankind cannot get on without a divinity of some sort, and so it has made one or more gods to suit its purpose. These creations of man's mind have, like his other creations, varied in perfection according to the perfection of their maker. At first a number of higher beings were constructed whose power and sphere of action, though greater than those of men, were

limited, and who reflected not only the physical excellences and virtues of men, but also their vices and passions. As on earth so also in Olympus a struggle for existence ensued, and likewise resulted in the survival of the fittest. Deity after deity was eliminated until at length only one was left who had absorbed all the powers and annexed all the dominions of the rest. Meantime, side by side with this process, a marked improvement of morals was going on; passions and vices gradually disappeared, virtues became more and more manifest. In this way men reached the notion of a single all-powerful, absolutely-perfect being. With this notion M. de Molinari has no fault to find. He thinks that it will do—for the present.

Such is his line of argument, stripped of its sentiment and relieved of a load of matter quite foreign to its purpose. There are in the book some really good chapters on the necessity and the function of religion in social progress. These may do good. Some readers may be induced to lay aside their prejudices, and may even go on to conclusions of which M. de Molinari himself stops short. In any case many sins should be forgiven him for his unbounded admiration for our Holy Father Leo XIII., Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Gibbons, and Abp. Ireland. He is convinced that there is a splendid future for religion if conducted on the lines of these great ecclesiastics. Here we are entirely at one with him.

T. B. S.

Prolegomena to the Study of Hegel's Philosophy and especially of his Logic. By WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Merton College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Second edition, revised and augmented. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894. Pp. 477. Price 10s. 6d.

"THE condemnation," says Hegel, "which a great man lays upon the world is to force it to explain him." Professor Wallace has undertaken to explain Hegel, and his task might be well characterised as a condemnation. In the case of most philosophers, other than German, disputes are common enough as to the precise value of their systems. But in the case of many German philosophers, and notably of Hegel, the question as to value must be preceded by a question as to significance. Professor Wallace is with us when we make this statement.

"To read Hegel," he says, "often reminds us of the process we have to go through in trying to answer a riddle. The turns of the problem to be

solved are all given to us ; the features of the object are, it may be, fully described ; and yet somehow we cannot at once tell what it is all about, or add up the sum of which we have the several items. We are waiting to learn the subject of the proposition of which all these statements may be regarded as the predicates. Something we feel has undoubtedly been said ; but we are at a loss to see what it has been said about."

There are difficulties in the very style. Undoubtedly passages of sterling eloquence may be found in the writings of Hegel (*e.g.*, the passage on Prayer, quoted in Fr. Bowden's "Natural Religion," pp. 259, *seqq.*), nevertheless, we may with some truth say of him what Carlyle has said of Jenfelsdröckh : "Of his sentences perhaps not more than nine-tenths stand straight on their legs ; the remainder are in quite angular attitudes, but tressed-up by props (of parentheses and dashes), and ever with this or the other tag-rag hanging from them ; a few even sprawl out helplessly on all sides, quite broken-backed and dismembered." But the difficulties lie deeper than the style ; they are to be found in the thoughts of Hegel. Are the difficulties here to be charged to Hegel's obscurity or to our want of vision ? Most would charge them to Hegel's obscurity. But Mr. Wallace asserts that the fault lies with ourselves. It is because in our ordinary habits of mind we are accustomed to inexact thinking, that when we attempt to ascend to the atmosphere of Hegelian thought "we feel very much as if we had been lifted into a vacuum where we cannot breathe, and which is a fit habitation for unrecognisable ghosts only." Mr. Wallace does not express a hope to create in us habits of exact thinking. But his desire is, through his *Prolegomena*, which is intended as an introduction to the study of Hegel and especially of his logic, to at least break the ground and prepare some degree of receptivity for Hegel. If any one can make Hegel intelligible, it is unquestionably Professor Wallace, whose style is as lucid as the style of his master is involved.

The Logic of Hegel. Translated from the "Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences" by WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Merton College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Second edition, revised and augmented. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1892. Pp. 439. Price 10s. 6d.

HEGEL divides his treatise on Logic into three parts. In the first two parts he treats of Being and of Essence. Thus far Hegel is dealing with subject-matter which would commonly be assigned to the metaphysic. When, however, we find the third

part entitled "The Doctrine of Notion," we take heart of grace and think that, though somewhat late in the day, land is in sight at last. But when we read, "The Notion is the principle of freedom, the power of substance self-realised. It is a systematic whole, in which each of its constituent functions is the very total which the notion is, and is put as indissolubly one with it. Thus, in its self-identity, it has original and complete determinateness" (p. 287), we feel bound to confess that the apparent land is only a sand-bank after all. The truth is that Hegel confounds thought with thing, and thus with him the science of thought becomes the science of thing. The identification of thought with thing is bad enough, but Hegel commits a greater blunder still when he identifies abstract human thought with absolute thought. According to J. H. Fichte, in this latter identification lies the fundamental fallacy of the Hegelian philosophy. But it seems to us that the identification of thought and thing is the original error. For since it is a characteristic of God that in Him thought and thing are identical, if in the human mind thought and thing are identical, as Hegel asserts, human thought must be identical with absolute thought. And this conclusion Hegel does not shrink from advancing. He denies reality to the singular and grants it only to the universal. The most universal of all will then be in the supreme grade of reality, and as the first in any order is the cause of whatever falls within that order, it follows that the most universal is the foundation of all reality. But the most universal of all is the abstract idea of being as such. This concept Hegel calls the Logical Idea and Divine Essence. "To imagine the being of the world," says Hegel, "is to strip it of all individual and contingent forms and to conceive it as a universal and necessary Being; that is, as God." The Logical Idea is one with the completest unity, and yet at the same time it is all. All other existences than abstract, necessary and absolute truth are mere determinations of this truth, necessary evolutions of its being. They are real with its reality, one with its unity. They are many amongst themselves, they are various, they are diametrically opposed to each other. And yet they are one because they are identical with the absolute. We are inclined to remark that the saying is a hard one and difficult of understanding. Hegel hastens to assure us that it is not only difficult but impossible to understand. But it appears that there is something higher than *understanding*, to wit, Reason, or the "dialectic process." "Thought, as *understanding*, sticks to fixity of characters and their distinctness from one another; every such limited abstract it treats as having a subsistence and being of its own" (p. 143). But "in the dialectical stage these finite

characterisations or formulæ supersede themselves and pass into their opposites" (p. 147). We are curious to know some more about the "dialectic process," and fortunately the definition is at hand.

"By dialectic is meant the indwelling tendency outwards by which the one-sidedness and limitation of the predicates of understanding is seen in its true light, and shown to be the negation of them. For anything to be finite is just to suppress itself and put itself aside. Thus understood the dialectical principle constitutes the life and soul of scientific progress, the dynamic which alone gives immanent connection and necessity to the body of science; and, in a word, is seen to constitute the real and true, as exposed to the external, exaltation above the finite" (p. 147).

Dialectic, or the "indwelling tendency outwards," essays a still more difficult feat than the identification of opposites "in the absolute and the One." It aims at identifying Absolute Being with Absolute Nothing. "If we enunciate Being," says Hegel, "as a predicate of the Absolute, we get the first definition of the latter. The Absolute is Being. This is—in thought—the absolutely initial definition, the most abstract and stinted" (p. 158).

"But this mere Being, as it is a mere abstraction, is therefore the absolutely negative; which, in a similarly immediate aspect, is just Nothing. Hence was derived the second definition of the Absolute; the Absolute is the Nought. In fact, this definition is implied in saying that the thing in itself is the indeterminate, utterly without form and so without content" (p. 161).

For the good name of the centuries which preceded the birth of Hegel, we should be glad to give credit for originality to the German philosopher when he states that Absolute Being is Absolute Nothing. But we learn regretfully from Aristotle that the same weighty proposition had been laid down by Heraclitus. However, there is at least no indication that Heraclitus was led to this conclusion by dialectic, or the "indwelling tendency outwards." Hegel's arguments, thrown into syllogistic form, would run as follows: Absolute Being is absolute indetermination. But absolute indetermination is Absolute Nothing. Ergo, Absolute Being is Absolute Nothing. Clearly this reasoning is sophistical. The term "indetermination" is used in the argument in a double sense. Absolute Being is indeterminate as excluding *determinate* entity, whether generic, specific, or individual; but *not* as *totally* excluding entity real and ideal; rather as necessarily involving entity. But Absolute Nothing is indeterminate as excluding *all* entity whether real or ideal. We are not surprised to find Hegel himself describing his system as a "realm of shadows." Still less are we surprised to find Schopenhauer pouring the vials of his contempt on the "dialectic process."

"The lowest stage of degradation," says Schopenhauer, "was reached by

Hegel, who, to stifle again the freedom of thought won by Kant, turned Philosophy, the daughter of Reason and future mother of Truth, into an instrument of obscurantism and Protestant Jesuitism, but in order to hide the disgrace and at the same time stupefy men's brains to the utmost, drew over her a veil of the emptiest verbiage and most senseless hodge-podge ever heard out of Bedlam."

Nevertheless, although Hegel so sadly misused his powers he was undoubtedly a vigorous thinker. His philosophy, which had once such widespread acceptance in Germany that it even influenced the teaching of Catholic theologians like Günther, has now little recognition in the land of its birth. But in England, where, to this day, Hegelianism has many brilliant disciples and exponents, the "logic" is still a force to be reckoned with. And those that wish to make an acquaintance with this famous "logic" cannot better study it than in the excellent translation of Professor Wallace.

The Supernatural in Christianity, with special Reference to Statements in the recent Gifford Lectures. By Principal RAINY, D.D., Professor J. ORR, D.D., and Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D., with a Prefatory Statement by Professor A. H. CHARTERIS, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1894. Pp. 111. Price 2s.

IT was commonly understood that the foundation deed of the Gifford lectures authorised the discussion of Theism on grounds of Natural Reason alone, and that Supernatural Revelation was to have no place in the lectures whether as object of attack or of defence. The lectures, in point of fact, have never been used as an instrument for the defence of Supernatural Religion; but in those recently delivered by Dr. Pfleiderer, the well known Berlin professor, the supernatural aspects of Christianity were assailed. The Incarnation was set aside, the miracles recorded in the Gospels discarded, and our Lord was represented as a Redeemer, only in the sense in which any one who lives his life in a manner that tends to elevate the lives of others deserves to be called a redeemer. It seemed to many that lectures of this nature were inconsistent with the terms of the Gifford bequest. In any case such lectures as Dr. Pfleiderer's could not be permitted, in a Christian country, to pass without protest. A course of three lectures in reply was accordingly organised without delay. The lectures have now been published under the title of "The Supernatural in Christianity." All three lectures are remarkably well written and frequently exhibit great power. The lecture on "The Trustworthiness of the Gospels," by

Professor Dods, is perhaps the one that will be read with more general interest.

Rational Philosophy, the Laws of Thought, or Formal Logic.

A brief, comprehensive Treatise on the Laws and Methods of Correct Thinking. By WITHAM POT POLAND, Professor of Rational Philosophy in St. Louis' University. New York, Boston, Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co. 1892. Pp. 104.

WE think that Mr. Poland would have done well to add a few lines on "appellation" when he is treating of the use of terms. We think, too, that he has ill-described the universal. "What is it?" he asks. "It is a convenience invented by the ingenuity of the mind for the needs of thought." This is clearly no description of the direct and fundamental universal. But if there are some few defects, there are at the same time many excellences in this very valuable little treatise. With the exception of the description given of the universal, Mr. Poland is soundly Aristotelian throughout; and if he ill-describes the universal, it is, we believe, because he is for the moment sacrificing thoroughness for the sake of brevity. But no similar fault occurs elsewhere. There is almost always brevity, but it is the brevity of concentration and strength, which increases rather than detracts from clearness. Our author writes on "incomplete induction" at somewhat greater length than he usually allows himself. But what he says is so good that we could not afford to miss a word of it. We should be very glad to quote from this passage; but the passage would suffer from dismemberment, and the space at our disposal will not permit us to quote it in its entirety. Mr. Poland could not possibly have said more than he has said in the hundred and four pages of his treatise, and he could scarcely have said it better. If "Logic" is to form part of the ordinary curriculum of the Catholic higher schools of this country, there is no manual that we can recommend with greater confidence than the "Formal Logic" of Mr. Poland.

Ethic of Benedict de Spinoza. Translated by W. HALE WHITE and AMELIA H. STIRLING. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected, with new Preface. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. 1894. Pp. 402. Price 7s. 6d.

DESCARTES had defined substance as "a thing which exists in such wise that it needs no other thing for its existence." This definition is false, for substance as such neither includes nor excludes

dependence from an efficient cause of its being; all that is involved in the essential concept of substance is that it exists by itself and does not inhere in something else as in a subject of inhesion. In other words, while *perseity* necessarily forms part of the content of substance, *aseity* does not. The definition of Descartes, however, ascribes *aseity* as well as *perseity* to substance. There is, indeed, no reason to believe that Descartes was what would now be called a Monist. It is probable that when defining substance he had in view the Divine substance—that he was perfectly willing to grant the existence of a number of other substances which, while excluding a subject of inhesion, admit and require an efficient cause. But however this may be, Spinoza, taking the definition of Descartes as the foundation of his Pantheistic system, teaches in his “Ethic” that there is only one substance—God; and since no attribute can exist without existing in substance, whatever exists is in God, is an affection, mode, and manifestation of the Divine substance; that the manifestations of God being not external to the Divine substance but immanent, they are a necessary evolution of the Divine nature, and thus there is no such thing as free will either in the organ of the manifestations (*natura naturans*) or in the manifestations themselves (*natura naturata*). It can scarcely be claimed for Spinoza that he is original. The definition of substance which lies at the basis of his system he borrowed from Descartes. The argument with which he attempts to vindicate this definition is remarkably like one that was advanced by the Materialist, David of Dinanto, and victoriously refuted by St. Thomas. Then, again, just as Descartes made extension the essence of body, and thought the essence of spirit, Spinoza chooses extension and thought as the two modes of his only substance, which is at once body and spirit. But if Spinoza be not original, it is claimed that he is at least consecutive and consistent. It would be difficult to justify this claim. Spinoza says: “By substance I understand that which is in itself and is conceived through itself; in other words, that the conception of which does not need the conception of another thing from which it must be formed.” Now thought can be conceived without extension, and extension can be conceived without thought. Consequently, if the definition of Spinoza be the correct one, instead of one only substance, there must be at least two distinct substances—thought and extension. Once more; is the substance of which thought and extension are the two modes spiritual, or is it material? If it be material, how shall we account for thought? If it be spiritual, how shall we account for extension? Spinoza’s way of meeting the difficulty is to increase it. He declares that the substance is at once

spiritual and material. "Substance thinking," says Spinoza, "and substance extended are one and the same substance, which is now comprehended under this attribute, now under that." Mr. White attempts to illustrate this. "The idea of a circle," he says, "and the circle itself are one. Revealed as thought we have the former; revealed as extension we have the latter." (Preface, p. lxxv.) But what is the precise meaning of revelation which excludes thought and idea? Then, again: it is conceivable that a varied world should be the product of an absolute unity which is distinct from it; but how shall a varied world be produced within the absolutely one? Such was the question which De Ischirnhausen put to Spinoza. The question was acknowledged and an answer promised; but the answer never came. But although Spinoza was neither an original nor a consistent thinker, still, if Goethe can write, "The mind which worked upon me so decisively, and which was destined to affect so deeply my whole mode of thinking, was Spinoza," the great founder of modern Pantheism can have been no common man. The lengthy Preface which Mr. White adds to his translation of the "Ethic" is of great value from both a biographical and a critical point of view. We cannot, however, agree with him when he represents the ontological as the less important portion of the "Ethic." The ontological portion not only contains the doctrines with which the name of Spinoza is most commonly associated, but it also lies at the basis of the greater part of the "Ethic."

Carmina Mariana: An English Anthology, in Verse, in honour of, or in relation to, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and Arranged by ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. xxxii.-461. London and New York: Burns & Oates. 1894.

THIS second edition of Mr. Orby Shipley's interesting and learned collection of verses on Our Lady contains several additions and improvements. The contents have been printed in a different way, with a variation of type, and a footnote, which will facilitate reference to them. An excellent Index of Authors has been supplied. A number of passages are given in the Appendix from various reviews of the first edition by journals, Catholic and non-Catholic. These extracts show that the volume has excited much interest in every direction. "'Carmina Mariana,'" says the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, "includes so many beautiful things, and is of so unique a character, that it ought to find a place on many other than Catholic shelves." Other leading papers speak in the same sense.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894. Pp. 348.

THERE are few publications of more burning interest at the present day than those which deal with the social question. And of the immense number of essays and articles, pamphlets and books on this topic that are constantly pouring forth from the printing press, it would be hard to find one of such originality and interest as "Social Evolution," by Mr. Benjamin Kidd.

Mr. Kidd writes clearly and succinctly, and with considerable force and power; and even where we do not altogether agree with his conclusions, we are compelled to admit that his arguments are full of suggestion.

The writer is an out-and-out evolutionist, and firmly believes in the theory of development, even as applied to man's social relations and domestic life and condition.

It would be impossible to summarise the contents of this large volume of three hundred and fifty pages in the small space allotted to a review; but the main features of the work may be pointed out in a few lines.

He maintains that there is no real advance possible without struggle, contention, and a process of continuous rivalry. Where the "struggle for existence" relaxes, there the rate of progress relaxes also; when the "struggle for existence" altogether ceases, there progress first slackens, and then changes into a retrograde movement. In fact, so soon as man finds himself in such a condition that there is no longer any need for a struggle, so soon as there are no competitors to outstrip, decadence and degeneracy inevitably result. Like a boat upon a fast-running stream, he is carried down to a lower and lower level so soon as his conditions of life allow him to retire from the battle-field of social contest, and to live at peace with his neighbour.

If the struggle grows keener and more energetic, progress will tend to become more and more marked. The question then arises: Will the "struggle for existence" become keener as time goes on, or will it gradually relax?

Mr. Kidd gives a most emphatic affirmative answer to the first alternative. He maintains that the struggle will become more vehement, but that it will be freed in great measure from the ruinous consequences that it now inflicts upon the masses of unsuccessful runners in life's race.

The tendency in these days is to bring about a greater social equality among all men. In other words, all men, on entering the

race of life, will start fairer, and with a more equal chance of success. The result will be a keener rivalry, a more closely contested race, and consequently a far greater general progress ; while, at the same time, the distance between the various competitors will be less excessive and less disastrous than heretofore. And this seems reasonable enough, for while it is certainly true that the advance is ever greatest when the struggle is greatest, it is equally true that the struggle is greatest (not precisely where the number is most considerable) but rather where the combatants are most equally matched.

And, if we are to believe Mr. Kidd, it is just precisely this increasing equality of conditions that marks our present day growth.

We see that under all the complex appearances our western civilisation presents, the central process working itself out in our midst is one which is ever tending to bring, for the first time in the history of the race, all the people into the competition of life on a footing of equality of opportunity.—P. 327.

But whatever tends to bring about a greater degree of equality will, at the same time, give impetus to the contest of man with man, and push on the development of the race to a further point of perfection. Now what is the potent factor in this tendency ? It is not intellect, it is not interest, it is not the inevitable submission of the weak to the stronger, for all the concessions are on the more powerful side. What, then, is it ? It is, says Mr. Kidd, the growth and expansion of the social virtues. It is the necessary outcome of religion in some form or another ; of the belief in the inherent equality of man, and the brotherhood of the entire race, irrespective of country or colour. "The Social question is at bottom a religious question" (p. 13). In human evolution, the function of all supernatural belief must be "to provide a *super-rational* sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual necessary to the maintenance of the development which is proceeding, but for which there can never be, in the nature of things, any *rational* sanction" (p. 100). In other words, faith and sympathy, and a constantly expanding and strengthening spirit of philanthropy, are evidently at work breaking down the barriers between class and class, and reducing and filing down to a finer and more insignificant point the privileges and exemptions of the more favoured sections of the community. We can see this reflected in the whole history of modern legislation. This history

may be summed up in a few words. It is simply the history of a continuous series of concessions, demanded and obtained by that party which is, undoubtedly, through its position, inherently the weaker of these two, from that power-holding party which is equally unmistakably

the stronger. There is no break in the series; there is no exception to the rule.—P. 175.

This process of levelling will go on steadily, to the great advantage of the whole human family.

The inherent tendency of the social development now taking place amongst us, is to raise this rivalry to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by bringing all the people on a footing of equality, and by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community, and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality.—P. 238.

Mr. Kidd's picture of the future is certainly one of the brightest and cheeriest that we have contemplated for a long time. Without violence, without revolution, without internecine wars, the world is to be wafted into a haven of peace and plenty, secure from the storms and tempests that have rocked its childhood, and to know at last happy days and prosperous seasons. How far Mr. Kidd's theories and arguments may be relied upon, we must leave the gentle reader to judge. Whether agreeing with him or not, no one can read the essay without obtaining a firmer grasp of an important subject, and without feeling his interest in it awakening and intensifying from the first page to the last.

Health at School considered in its Mental, Moral, and Physical Aspects. By CLEMENT DUKES, M.D., B.S. Lond.
London: Rivington, Perceval & Co. 1894.

THAT this book should have reached a third edition is a sufficient proof of the interest taken by the modern public in everything connected with the health of their children when at school. Whatever the author has to say, we may always know that he is speaking with the authority warranted by an experience extending over many years at one of the largest of the English Public Schools. The book is, in truth, more comprehensive than its name implies, and many things are discussed with respect to the public school system which can only be indirectly connected with health. Thus, the curriculum of studies, the rules of discipline, the distribution of work and the length of vacations, and many other such details, find a place. Much of what he says does not apply to Catholic schools, where the system differs materially from that of non-Catholic, whether public or private; but a great deal is left which is applicable, and whether we can accept all his conclusions or not, they are well thought out, and the points he discusses are worthy of close attention.

The Little Sisters of the Poor. By Mrs. ABEL RAM. London: Longmans, 1894.

THE story of the foundation and development of that wonderful Order which appeals to the sympathy of Christians of all persuasions has in these pages all the interest of romance. The parable of the grain of mustard seed receives one more illustration in the growth of an institution which, founded less than fifty years ago by a young village curate with no resources save his stipend of £16 a year, assisted by two poor seamstresses and a peasant woman, has covered the whole earth with its branches, and taken its place among the most beneficent creations of Catholic faith. It has now 250 houses, of which twenty-nine are in the United Kingdom, and gives food and shelter to over 33,000 of the aged and indigent poor of both sexes. The name of the humble servant woman who was its first alms-gatherer is so closely interwoven with its early history that its sisters throughout Brittany are still known as "Jeanne Jugans," and a street in St. Servan is called after this lowliest of its inhabitants. Here in a wretched attic the Abbé Le Pailleur placed his two young novices with Jeanne as their matron, and hither, in October 1840, they brought the two old women who were the first pensioners of the Little Sisters of the Poor. During this time the two girls still pursued their calling as seamstresses, while Jeanne, by various forms of service, earned wages which also went into the common fund. With every extension of the undertaking fresh help was forthcoming for it, and thus it progressed from a garret to a basement, and then to a house built for it by the charity of the public. Now the Little Sister, with her basket or her cart, is a familiar figure in every large city, and the Abbé Le Pailleur has lived to see the great idea with which heaven inspired him realised to an extent that prophetic vision alone could have foreseen.

Reviews in Brief.

The Life and Glories of Saint Joseph. By EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. B. Gill & Son. 1891.—It is with unmixed pleasure that we welcome a second edition of "The Life and Glories of St. Joseph," the volume which so fittingly closed the series of Mr. Healy Thompson's excellent biographies. The earlier edition we reviewed in our issue of July 1888, and little need be added now to the encomiums then pronounced upon the volume in this and similar periodicals. The exactness and solidity of the doctrinal portions of the work, the clear and exhaustive handling of its historical and more devotional parts, the interesting inquiries into the *Cultus* of the Saint in the Early Church, and of its rapid development in later times, and the practical application of devotion to the holy patriarch to the needs of Catholics in the present day, were claims upon the attention of the public which have been deservedly responded to. Now that the Supreme Pontiff happily reigning has added to the titles of Patron and Protector of the universal Church and to the glories implied therein, by proposing St. Joseph to us as the special patron of the Christian Family, and as a bulwark against the disruption in these Socialistic times of that the most fundamental principle of Christian Society, we can only hope that so timely a republication of the "Life and Glories of St. Joseph" will meet with a redoubled welcome, that very many will peruse its interesting pages, and meditate upon its soul-nourishing thoughts.

The New Month of Mary. St. FRANCIS of Sales.

The New Month of St. Joseph. St. FRANCIS of Sales. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Brothers. 12mo, pp. 141, 155. 2s. each.—Two small manuals compiled from the work of St. Francis of Sales by a Sister of the Visitation at Baltimore, and approved by Cardinal Gibbons. They contain an exercise for each day of the month, a text, a short meditation, and an example. They are sufficiently portable to be easily carried about the person during the whole month of May or March, and clients of Our Lady and the Foster-Father of Christ could hardly have a better companion.

The Following of Christ. Translated by Right Rev. Dr. CHALLONER. London: Art and Book Company, 12mo, pp. 204.—Neither the work nor the translation needs any recommendation. The print is rather small and much too close, a defect due no doubt to the laudable desire of bringing out the work at so small a price as 4*d.*

Father Faber's May Book. Compiled by an Oblate of Mary Immaculate. London: Burns & Oates. 12mo, pp. 108.—In this work selections have been made for each day of the month from the writings of Father Faber. As such it needs no commendation. Our Blessed Lady has here laid at her feet the Catholic homage of one of the most fervent amongst the multitude of her children who have "called her blessed." It only remains to express our gratitude to the Oblate Father who has so happily compressed this selection of Father Faber's May thoughts in such a compass as to be easily placed in the hands of the faithful during the Month of Mary.

The Perfection of Man by Charity: A Spiritual Treatise. By Fr. H. REGINALD BUCKLER, O.P. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.—This most useful *répertoire* of spiritual science, made up in great measure of the very words of saints and masters, has reached a second edition, and it is pleasing to be able once more to recommend it to priests, to religious preachers, and to all who pursue the study of perfect life.

Explanation of Deharbe's Small Catechism. By JAMES CANON SCHMITT, D.D. Translated from the seventh German edition. Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder. 1894.—A reprint of the translation of the "Explanation of Deharbe's Small Catechism," a well known and useful work. This English version had the approval of the present Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster when Bishop of Salford (1891).

History of the Passion. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1894.—This narrative of the sufferings of Christ and of the dolours of Mary, with notes and comments, is reprinted. It is useful and seems to be popular. One or two mistakes might have been corrected, such as "Maunday" for "Maundy."

The Christ has Come. The Second Advent an Event of the Past. By E. HAMPDEN-COOK, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Limited. 1894. Pp. 163.—Mr. Hampden-Cook wishes to persuade us that we do wrong to look

forward to a second coming of Christ, that such an expectation finds no warrant in any reasonable interpretation of the New Testament.

No event of the past [says Mr. Cook] can be more sure to the Christian than the fact that Our Lord personally returned to earth at the close of the Jewish dispensation. Our knowledge of it rests not on ordinary human testimony, but on the clear, emphatic, and continually repeated prediction of Jesus that such would be the case (p. 73).

The second advent it seems was realised "by Our Lord's personal appearance on the clouds of heaven in 70 A.D." Mr. Cook endeavours to prove this from various passages in the Gospels and Epistles. Of the writers that with the help of private judgment elicit such theories as this from the Scriptures we can only say in the words of Dante, "*non ragionam de lor; ma guarda e passa.*"

Natal Astrology. By G. WILDE and J. DODSON. To which is appended *The Soul and the Stars*, by A. G. TRENT. The Occult Book Company, 6 Central Street, Halifax, Yorks. 1894. Pp. 245. —A horoscope—i.e., a "map, chart, or figure of the heavens for the moment of a birth"—"proclaims" according to the authors of "Natal Astrology," the mental and physical qualities of the native, indicating clearly the disposition, strength of intellect, nature of constitution and health, and, to a considerable degree, the physique and personal appearance. It also typifies the circumstances of the person's life, prefiguring the pecuniary prospects, &c. &c. Our authors provide us with horoscopes of various notable personages, of Frederick the Great, Washington, Napoleon, Mr. Gladstone, and others. "My Cid, who was born under a happy star," says the old Spanish Chronicles of Ruy Diaz. Let no man say of Mr. Gladstone that he was born under a happy star! Reading his horoscope under the skilful guidance of Messrs. Wilde and Dodson, we find that this particular native is, or at least ought to be, noted for "craft, instability, fickle judgment," that he is "haughty and self-assertive," that there is a "daring arrogance about him"; and we notice too that "Capricorn's tail, said to bring danger from wild beasts, is conjoined with Mars, which may bring to the student's mind the historic attack upon Mr. Gladstone by a cow." *Risum teneatis, amici!*

The Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome. By ALFONSO CARDINAL CAPECELATRO, Archbishop of Capua. Translated by THOMAS ADLER POPE, M.A., of the Oratory. Second Edition. Two volumes. London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1894.—This reprint of a well known and highly appreciated life need only be announced.

The Bells of Nôtre Dame of Bruges. By the Rev. MICHAEL F. HORGAN. London & Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894. —The beautiful story of San Giovanni Gualberto is here adapted to a poetic framework, and the act of forgiveness associated with his name made the starting-point of the career of sanctity both of a Belgian missionary and of his pardoned foe. The story is told in fluent verse with considerable descriptive power, and the chimes of Nôtre Dame of Bruges form a sort of refrain or accompaniment to the tale.

Life of the Princess Borghese née Gwendalin Talbot. By the CHEVALIER ZELONI. Translated by LADY MARTIN. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.—The story of a life which, though cut short at two and twenty, left enduring memories of sanctity and love, is told here with sympathy and feeling. The death in October 1840, of Gwendalin, Princess Borghese, followed within a month by those of her three little sons, left the poor of Rome bereaved of their best benefactress, and her name is still intertwined with popular legends of miracle and wonder.

Naguère, Aujourd'hui. Par Mme. la COMTESSE DE BEAUREPAIRE DE LOUVAGNY. Paris: Téqui, Libraire-Éditeur. 1894.—The scene of this interesting tale is laid in a French provincial town, and it gives a vivid picture of the social and political intrigues by which an anti-Christian government tyrannises over the consciences of the people. A sanguinary outbreak amongst the Socialistic working-men gives the ostracised partisans of religion the opportunity of heaping coals of fire on the heads of their persecutors by sheltering and attending them in their misfortunes, while the eventual triumph of good is brought about by the same catastrophe.

La Villa Esculape. Par CAMILLE FYLLIÈRES. Paris: Téqui, Libraire-Éditeur. 1894.—This charming tale tells of an overwhelming temptation to dishonourable breach of trust, yielded to in his old age by a man previously upright and honest, but without religious principle to confirm natural virtue. The crushing sense of guilt induced by his fall becomes the harbinger of his conversion, and the complications his act had caused in the lives of others are eventually smoothed away by restitution. The narrative is animated and the plot ingeniously worked out.

Fallen Angels. By ONE OF THEM. London: Gay & Bird, 1894.—We have in this volume a serious attempt to prove the old and unprovable hypothesis of the transmigration of souls through successive incarnations. A novelty, indeed, is added in the supposi-

tion that the fallen angels may be permitted to work out their redemption by accepting the humiliation, as it would seem to their spiritual nature, of undergoing imprisonment in a human or animal body.

Outlines of the Law as to the Custody of Children, with chapters on the Law relating to Children in Reformatory and Industrial Schools. By WILLIAM CASSELL MAUDE, B.C.L., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, and DUDLEY W. B. LEATHLEY, Solicitor. Third Edition, revised and enlarged, 8vo, pp. 148. London: Burns & Oates, 1s.— We welcome the appearance of the third edition of this valuable manual upon a part of the law in which the interests of the Church in this country are so often and so vitally concerned. A preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster warmly commends the work, and very clearly points out its usefulness to the parochial clergy. His Eminence enforces the fact that the knowledge conveyed by it is of a kind which comes to the aid of the priest in critical moments, when the souls of children are at stake, and when such souls may be saved to the Church by promptly using it, and lost by ignoring or neglecting it. It ought to have a place in every priest's library. We looked twice to see if it were really a Catholic work, it has such an excellent index.

Books Received.

- Father John Morris.** Rev. Richard F. Clarke, S.J. London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 15.
- The Land of Heart's Desire.** W. B. Yeats. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 43.
- The Perfection of Man by Charity.** Reginald Buckler, O.P. London : Burns & Oates. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 352.
- The Month of Mary of Our Lady of Lourdes.** Henri Laserre. Translated by Mrs. Crosier. London : Burns & Oates. New Edition. 8vo, pp. 270.
- Ethics of Benedict de Spinoza.** Translated by W. Hale White and Amelia H. Stirling. London : T. Fisher Unwin. Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 297.
- London Letters.** Geo. W. Smalley. London : Macmillan. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 583.
- Mois de Marie.** D'après les grands Prédicateurs contemporains. Paris : Téqui. 8vo, pp. 287.
- European History, 1598-1715.** H. O. Wakeman. London : Rivington, Percival & Co. 8vo, pp. 393.
- Our Confirmation Class.** Right Rev. T. R. Wynne, Anglican Bishop of Killaloe. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 104.
- Father Faber's May Book.** By an Oblate of Mary Immaculate. London : Burns & Oates. Pp. 108.
- Fallen Angels.** By One of Them. London : Gay & Bird. 8vo, pp. 230.
- The Bells of N. D. of Bruges.** Rev. M. P. Horgan. London : Art and Book Co. Pp. 38.
- The Supernatural in Christianity.** Principal Rainey, Professor Orr, and Professor Marcus Dods. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 110.

- Life of St. Philip Neri.** Translated by Rev. T. A. Pope, from Cardinal Capecelatro. London: Burns & Oates. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 490-504.
- The Little Sisters of the Poor.** Mrs. Abel Ram. London: Longmans. Pp. 312.
- Barabbas.** Marie Corelli. London: Methuen. Pp. 465.
- The Beloved Disciple.** Rev. Fr. Rawes. London: Burns & Oates. Third Edition. Pp. 191.
- Science and Religion.** G. de Molinari. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie. 8vo, pp. 282.
- Archbishop Laud.** By a Romish Recusant. London: Kegan Paul & Co. Pp. 490.
- The Data of Modern Ethics Examined.** Rev. J. Ming, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. Pp. 386.
- The Factory System and Factory Acts.** R. W. Cooke-Taylor. London: Methuen & Co. Pp. 184.
- L'Église et le Peuple.** Edmond Preveraud. Paris: Tèqui. Pp. 416.
- Ecce Homo.** Forty Short Meditations on the Bitter Passion and Death of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Rev. D. G. Hubert. London: R. Washbourne. 12mo, pp. 196.
- Clarence Belmont, or a Lad of Honour.** Rev. Walter T. Leahy. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner. 8vo, pp. 288.
- Steps to French.** A. M. M. Stedman, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. 79.
- Jésus Outragé, ou Le Mois des Opprobres.** R. P. Deidier. Paris: Tèqui. 8vo, pp. xxiii.-300.
- Trusts, Pools, and Corners as affecting Commerce and Industry.** J. Stephen Jeans, M.R.I., F.S.S. London: Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. viii.-190.
- Kant et la Science Moderne,** R. P. Tilman Pesch, S.J. Traduit de l'Allemand par M. Lequien. Paris: Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 277.
- Richard Steele.** G. A. Aitken. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. lxxi.-452.
- [No. 11 of *Fourth Series*.]

- Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.** Diary and Letters transcribed and edited by his daughter, Marjory Bonar. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. xv.-399.
- Mediæval Records and Sonnets.** Aubrey de Vere. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xiii.-270.
- Sherborne, or The House of the Four Ways.** E. H. Dering (Atherston Series). London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 8vo, pp. 505.
- The First Divorce of Henry VIII.** Mrs. Hope. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 8vo, pp. xvii.-375.
- Curtice's Index to the Times and other Newspapers.** London: Edward Curtice. 4to, pp. 267.
- The Drama of the Apocalypse.** London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. 241.
- Dialectica Petri Cardinalis Pázmány.** Quam e Codice Manuscripto Bibliothecæ Universitatis Budapestinensis recensuit Stephanus Boynar. Budapestini. 4to, pp. xxii.-688.
- Some Aspects of Disestablishment.** Essays by Clergymen of the Church of England. Edited by H. C. Shuttleworth, Rector of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. London: Innes & Co. 8vo, pp. x.-192.
- The Primitive Church and the See of Peter.** With an Introduction by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 8vo, pp. xxxii.-488.
- L'Ancien Clergé de France.** Les Evêques pendant la Revolution. L'Abbé Sicard. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. 513.
- The Formation of Christendom.** T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xii.-328.
- Manuel du Prêtre aux Etats Unis, en Anglais et Français.** Louis de Goesbriand, Evêque de Burlington. New York: Pustet. 8vo, pp. xx.-254.
- A Little Book on the Love of God.** From the French of the Rev. Father Grou by a Dominican Father. London: St. Anselm's Society. 8vo, pp. xiii.-240.

- The Ban of Maplethorpe.** With Life of the Author. E. H. Dering. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 248-242-50.
- Histoire du Second Empire.** Tome second. Pierre de la Gorce. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. 258.
- The Christ has Come: The Second Advent: An Event of the Past.** E. Hampden Cook, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 8vo, pp. xii.-163.
- History of the Passion.** Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xv.-292.
- Naguère-Aujourd'hui.** Mme la Comtesse de Beaurepaire de Louvagny. Paris: Tèqui. 8vo, pp. 428.
- Imitation of Christ.** Facsimile Reproduction of the First Edition. Thomas à Kempis. With Introduction by Canon Knox Little, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 4to.
- Institutiones Theologicæ.** Auctore G. Bernardo Tepe, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 636.
- Carmina Mariana.** An English Anthology in Verse, in honour of, or in relation to, the B.V.M. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xxxii.-461.
- Explanation of Deharbe's Small Catechism.** James Canon Schmitt, D.D. Translated from the 7th German Edition. Freiburg in Breslau: Herder. 8vo, pp. viii.-298.
- The Life and Times of James the First.** Darwin Swift, B.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xix.-509.
- The Life of Blessed Anthony Balducci.** Fr. Francis Goldie, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. xi.-383.
- Souvenirs d'Auberge.** Paul Harel. Paris: Vic et Amat. 8vo, pp. 200.
- La Servante de Dieu, Marie de Sainte-Euphrasie Pelletier.** M. le Chanoine Portais. Paris: Delhomme et Briquet. 2 vols. 8vo.
- Memoirs du Chancelier Pasquier.** M. le Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier. Première Partie. Tome troisième. Paris: Librairie Plon. 8vo, pp. 448.
- East Syrian Daily Offices.** Arthur John McClean, Dean of Argyll and the Isles. London: Rivington & Co. 8vo, pp. xxx.-304.

- A Catholic Library.** Ed. Walter J. Richards. Book of Psalms, pp. 240.—Spiritual Combat, pp. 237.—Imitation of Christ, pp. 256.—Devout Life, pp. 344.—New Testament, pp. 444.
- Pax Nobiscum.** A Manual of Prayers. London: Burns & Oates. **Health at School.** Clement Dukes, M.D. Rivington, Percival & Co., pp. 498.
- Bernadette de Lourdes.** Emile Pouvillon. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. 280.
- The Resurrection of the Dead.** The late Rev. W. Milligan, D.D. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 246.
- The Means of Grace.** Adapted from the German of Rev. H. Rolpes & F. J. Brändle, by Rev. R. Brennan. Illustrated. New York: Benziger. 8vo, pp. 545.
- Natal Astrology.** S. Wilde, J. Dodson. Halifax: Occult Book Co. 8vo, pp. xxviii.—216.
- Les Origines du Concordat.** Leon Séché. Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 378, 329.
- Code de Procédure Canonique dans les Causes Matrimoniales.** L'Abbé Périès. Paris: Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 261.
- La foi dans la Divinité de J.C.** R. P. Didon. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 8vo, pp. 260.
- Cardinal Manning.** A. W. Hutton, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. 260.
- Divine Worship.** By Sacerdos. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 62.
- Life of Leon Papui-Dupont** (The Holy Man of Tours). Edited by E. H. Tompson. Latest Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 447.

